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A SKETCH
OF
TRISTRAM DALTON.

BY EBEN F. STONE.

[Read before the ESSEX INSTITUTE, Feb. 20, 1888.]

THIS paper is an attempt to give a brief sketch of the life and character of Tristram Dalton, the first Massachusetts senator from Essex county in the Congress of the United States. The immediate motive of this attempt was the discovery of a file of letters written by Mr. Dalton to his friend Michael Hodge, from which a large part of the material of this article is derived.

Tristram Dalton, the only child of Michael Dalton and Mary, *née* Little, was born in Newburyport, May 28, 1738. His father was a lineal descendant of Philemon Dalton of Hampton, New Hampshire, the ancestor of all the Daltons in this neighborhood. He began life as a mariner and attained the rank of captain, but soon gave up the sea and devoted himself to maritime commerce, and in this he was very successful. His place of business, the latter part of his life, was at the foot of Market street,

Newburyport, where he dealt largely in fish and in foreign goods imported from Europe. He carried on a distillery at the head of the wharf and exported to the West Indies and Europe, fish, rum and other articles, the product of the country. He was one of the most active and influential members of St. Paul's church and, with the exception of Mr. William Atkins, the largest voluntary subscriber to the funds needed to meet its current expenses. In early life he is described as a mariner. About 1740, he appears as a merchant, and soon after as an esquire. His rise was very rapid. He took an active part in the separation of Newburyport from Newbury, and was one of the first five persons named in the petition to the General Court for an act of incorporation. In 1742, we find him purchasing a house in Newburyport, which was situated on the northerly side of Market square, for £1000. In 1746, he bought of one Gideon Bartlett an estate of three acres on Greenleaf's lane, now State street, for £1600, and here he erected a fine house where his son Tristram afterwards lived, and which has been more recently occupied by the Rev. Mr. Cole. Soon afterwards he bought of different parties a large tract of land of about two hundred acres on Pipe-stave hill in West Newbury, which his son Tristram afterwards occupied as a country-seat. In 1765, he purchased the estate at the foot of Market then called Queen street, and established a distillery there. At this time, the principal business of the town was transacted at the foot of Queen street and when this name was dropped, at the time of the Revolution, because it savored too much of royalty, the name Market was adopted because the street led to the centre of business. Afterwards as business extended, with the opportunities for foreign trade which this country enjoyed by reason of its neutrality during the wars in Europe, the merchants in the southeasterly part of

the town, the Bartletts, the Johnsons, the Boardmans, the Coombes and others, carried the trade towards the foot of Federal street and when Parson Cary's church was taken down, at the foot of Greenleaf's lane, the town purchased the land of his society and laid it out as Market square.

Michael Dalton was evidently a man of ambition, and held the English ideas of family pride and consequence. He died, in 1770, at the age of sixty-one, too early to enjoy the satisfactions which he naturally anticipated from his success in business. His widow, the mother of Tristram, and a most estimable woman, afterwards married Patrick Tracy, the ancestor, on the maternal side, of the distinguished Charles, James and Patrick Tracy Jackson, to whom the Lowells, the Lees, and others of distinction are related. She died Dec. 10, 1791, aged 78. Michael Dalton lived, during the early part of his life, on the northerly side of what is now Market square, near the head of Greenleaf's wharf. His portrait is in the possession of a great-granddaughter. It indicates considerable force of character, and his figure, attitude and expression all impress one with the idea that he was a man of energy and self-reliance.

After his death his entire property, with the exception of the widow's thirds, went to his only child Tristram. He made no will, and his estate was never entered in Probate Court, so that there is no satisfactory evidence to be obtained of the extent and value of his property at the time of his decease. It was apparently ample to satisfy his son's wishes and expectations, for it seems that after his father's death he gave his attention not so much to business as to other matters more congenial to his taste. In 1782, Tristram Dalton paid the largest individual tax in Newburyport, the amount being £131-5-6. The same year Jonathan Jackson's tax was £100-1-5; Stephen Hooper's,

£98-10-8; Joseph Marquand's, £67-6-7; Thomas Thomas's, £56-14-1; William Bartlet's, £37-7-8; Moses Brown's, £22-5-11. Tristram Dalton was named for his maternal grandfather, Tristram Little, who was a successful trader in Newburyport, having his place of business in Market square near the corner of Liberty street, and he, too, was named for his maternal grandfather, Tristram Coffin, the ancestor of the English admiral, Sir Isaac Coffin, and an important man in his day. The name of Tristram has been handed down to the present time in different families which trace their descent to Tristram Coffin.

Tristram Dalton was graduated from Harvard College in 1755, in the class with John Adams, standing well for scholarship. He read law in Salem, but, on the completion of his studies, instead of engaging in the practice of the law, joined his father in business. In 1761, he married Ruth Hooper and commenced his married life in Newburyport. Two of her sisters were subsequently married to citizens of the same town; one to Lewis Jenkins, a wool-dealer, who lived near the corner of State and Pleasant streets; the other to Joseph Cutler, who lived on the corner of Green and Washington streets. Their father was Robert Hooper, a very rich merchant of Marblehead and socially of the first rank. His sons, who graduated at Harvard, ranked first in the list of their respective classes in the college catalogue which, since college rank depended upon the standing of the parents and not on the scholarship of the students, is conclusive proof of their high social position. Mr. Hooper, by reason of his great wealth and his imperious manner, was called King Hooper. He was a devoted Episcopalian and the tradition is that the society to which he belonged, having with his help erected a new church in Marblehead, as a special mark of attention for his liberality plastered a small space in the roof, ex-

actly over his pew and corresponding with it in size, and for want of funds left the remainder of the roof in an unfinished state for many years. When the Revolution came he adhered to the side of the King and was denounced and proscribed as a Tory.

Tristram Dalton does not appear to have taken any special interest in public affairs until the commencement of the Revolution, when he unhesitatingly put his heart and soul into the cause of his country. With what strength and ardor of patriotism he congratulates his friend Elbridge Gerry, then a member of the Continental Congress, on the Declaration of Independence in the following letter of July 19, 1776!

Dear Sir: I wish you joy on the late Declaration, an event so ardently desired by your good self and the people you particularly represent. We are no longer to be amused with delusive prospects. The die is cast. All is at stake. The way is made plain. No one can now doubt on which side it is his duty to act. We have everything to hope from the goodness of our cause. The God of justice is omnipotent. We are not to fear what man or multitude can do. We have put on the harness, and I trust it will not be put off until we see our land of security and freedom, the wonder of the other hemisphere, the asylum of all who pant for deliverance from bondage.

Wishing every blessing to attend you, I am dear sir with great regard,

Your Obedt Servt,

TRISTRAM DALTON.

During the war his name frequently appears in the town records among the principal actors of the time. Jonathan Jackson, Jonathan Greenleaf, Jonathan Titcomb, Benj. Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, Col. Wigglesworth, Michael Hodge, Nathaniel Tracy are names that frequently occur when looking over the town records. In the archives at the State House we find the names of another class of men, active and successful merchants who served the cause very effectually but in a different way.

They had no taste for public affairs. In this list may be found Patrick Tracy, Ralph and Stephen Cross, Joseph Marquand, Nathan Carter, Thomas Thomas, Samuel Newhall, Mr. Coombs, Jacob Boardman, Moses Frazier, John Coffin Jones and others.

In 1774, Tristram Dalton was one of the delegates to the Provincial Congress. In 1776 he, with John Lowell, afterwards Judge of the U. S. District Court, was on the Board of Selectmen, and the same year, with Jonathan Jackson, John Lowell, Col. Moses Little and Col. Edward Wigglesworth, was representative from Newburyport to the General Court. A very strong representation; all of them were superior men heartily engaged in the cause of independence and capable of dealing with large affairs. Four of them were graduates of Harvard College. No wonder, with such men to lead, with her Greenleafs, her Jacksons, her Parsons and her Lowells, that Newburyport at that period was an integrant part not only of Essex county but of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Dalton was not only active in political matters of a public nature, but, from his benevolence and kindness of heart, was distinguished for his services in behalf of the poor, who, in the suspension of business caused by the war, suffered severely for the want of the necessities of life. He also took a lively interest in the welfare of the common schools, and was one of a select committee appointed by the town to revise the system of public instruction.

He was a representative in 1782 and '83, and also in 1784 and '85, when he had for his associate the celebrated Rufus King. In 1783, he was chosen speaker of the House. In 1784, though again chosen, he declined to serve. Samuel A. Otis was finally elected and Dalton was promoted to the State Senate. In 1786, '87 and '88, Mr. Dalton was one of the senators from this county, and

in 1788, with the Hon. Caleb Strong, was chosen the first United States senator from this state under the new constitution. He was a member of the Constitutional convention in 1788, as a delegate from Newbury, and took an active part in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. During his term of service in our legislature Mr. Dalton was placed, in several instances, upon important committees, and this shows the high position which he held at that time. He was appointed, in 1786, one of a committee to attend a convention at Annapolis, composed of delegates from several states, to agree, if possible, upon a plan of union of the colonies. The same year, at the commencement of Shay's rebellion, he was appointed one of a committee, with Samuel Adams, to urge upon the Governor the importance of energetic action to suppress the rebellion and to protect the authority of the Courts. He was one of the commissioners chosen by this state, to attend a convention of the New England States held during the war, at Providence, to devise measures for the expulsion of the British troops from Rhode Island.

During the war, the spirit of patriotism overruled every other consideration, and those who were the most ardent and uncompromising in their opposition to England were the most popular and influential. But with the end of the war and the establishment of Independence came a change of circumstances, which gave influence and importance to a different class of men. With the restoration of peace, there came a demand for some system of administration which should reconcile and adjust the conflicting commercial interests of the different states and save the country from the jealousies and competitions, which, unless restrained by some central power, representing the general welfare, would most certainly prevent our national growth and prosperity.

After the adoption of the Constitution the question of the election of Senators came up. Those who had opposed its adoption were in the majority in the House, while the Senate was controlled by the Federalists. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution the people were strongly on the side of its opponents, and it was finally carried in this state only by a device of Parsons and others, who succeeded in disarming the opposition in the Convention by getting Gov. Hancock to favor its adoption, with an accompanying recommendation of certain amendments, which were intended to remove the objections of those who thought that the Constitution conferred too much power on the Federal government. Its adoption, however, was not dependent upon the success of the amendments, so that if the amendments had failed the Constitution would have stood as having the support of Massachusetts. But when it was clear that it was carried and that a general government, agreeably to its provisions, would be established, a very sudden and general change of public sentiment took place. The federal party, here in this State, became at once the popular and dominant party, so popular and so dominant, that those who had opposed the passage of the Constitution (without the amendments) were attacked as sectional and unpatriotic. This division of sentiment showed itself very strongly in the election of Senator for the eastern part of the state. Dr. Jarvis, a very popular man and an anti-federalist, who was a candidate for the appointment, received 113 out of 201 votes in the House. The Senate non-concurred and sent down the name of John Lowell; the House adhered to its previous vote and sent back the name of Jarvis. In this the Senate non-concurred and sent down the name of Tristram Dalton; the House non-concurred and sent up the name of Nathan Dane; the Senate non-concurred and sent back the name of Tristram Dalton, when the House concurred by a vote

of 78 out of 145. Rufus King was a candidate for the Massachusetts Senatorship, and it was probably this defeat that determined him to try his fortunes in the State of New York. Caleb Strong, from the western part of the State, was chosen on the first ballot by a large vote. Upon drawing lots for the long term, it fell to Strong, so that Dalton's term of service expired in two years. When the election to choose his successor took place in June, 1789, he was a candidate, but on the first ballot received only six votes, the leading candidates being Nathaniel Gorham, George Cabot, and Dr. Charles Jarvis. On the third ballot Cabot was elected by 63 votes out of 123 and so ended Tristram Dalton's career as a public man. The cause of his defeat I can only conjecture, but my belief is that it was because he was not a sufficiently strong partisan to satisfy either side at that time, when party feeling ran very high.

Dalton, before the election, was not a prominent candidate. In a letter from Gen. Lincoln to Washington dated Boston, Oct. 25, 1788, he says: "Our general court meets here on Wednesday next. It is quite uncertain who will be our Senators, or at the least one of them. Mr. Strong, I think, will be chosen; for the other seat there are many candidates—Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. R. King, Mr. Judge Dana, etc." After the adoption of the Constitution, the political tide set strongly in favor of the Federalists, and Dalton was a friend of Samuel Adams and a moderate Federalist.

In a letter of July 5, 1789, he says: "I am surprised to find that the approbation or disapprobation of my fellow-townsmen and acquaintances of my conduct in public life should depend on my befriending, in an appointment, this or that person. I shall ever be happy to please them and through my whole life shall endeavor to effect what I think

will be for the interest of the country in which we are all included. In every appointment some few are obliged, and many disobliged, and it is impossible for me to avoid censure from one party or another; but I shall pursue, steadily, the course that appears to me right, ever duly attending to the wishes of those whom I esteem." He was selected originally, probably, as a compromise-man. He was, naturally, extremely kind and sympathetic, and his political and commercial associations must have sometimes driven him in a direction opposed to his natural impulses, which were on the side of liberty. When, therefore, the Senate and House were politically opposed, as they were in 1788, he was, I imagine, elected finally, because not regarded as a strong partisan.

Another consideration had its influence. Dalton was a merchant of large business connections, and the son-in-law of another eminent merchant, Robert Hooper of Marblehead. The adoption of the Constitution was largely brought about by the merchants of the country engaged in foreign commerce. When the question who should be the candidate for the United States Senate from the eastern part of this state was under debate, James Sullivan, afterwards Governor, remarked to a friend that he was surprised to find that there was any question about who should be nominated: "the merchants," said he, "made the Constitution and they should name the candidate." Bowdoin, Sam'l Adams, Rufus King and Judge Dana were not merchants, and for this reason, at this time, Dalton had the advantage of them, and this was also true of Gorham and Dr. Jarvis who were among his competitors.

If he could have consulted his own tastes, he would have spent the remainder of his days in his beloved town, but his wife had been with him at New York, and had become so enamored of the gaiety and fashion of high life

that she could not be contented without it, and, yielding to her entreaties, he left Newburyport. After the Federal Court removed from New York to Philadelphia, he resided there with his family for some time, and finally, persuaded that the selection of Washington, as the permanent seat of government, offered a good opportunity for speculation, he decided to sell his real estate in Essex County, and invest the proceeds in Washington city lands. It is said that he was induced to take this step by the advice of Gen. Washington, who anticipated a great rise in the value of property there, upon the removal of the seat of government to the Federal Capital. Accordingly, he returned to Newburyport and sold his real estate. He sold his great farm at Pipe-stave Hill, of two hundred acres, in 1796, to Mr. Joseph Stanwood of Newburyport, for £3700, and at the same time sold his mansion house on State Street to Moses Brown, and all his interest in the old Little place, which he inherited from his mother, to Mr. Prout. This estate stood in Market Square, very near the lower corner of Liberty Street. Moses Brown used to say that when he was a carriage-maker at Belleville, he did Mr. Dalton's work, and that one day, while making some repairs upon one of his carriages, Mr. Dalton took him into his garden, and showed him the extent and completeness of his grounds, and that he then resolved that, if he outlived Mr. Dalton, he would own the place himself. He lived to realize his dream.

The vessel which contained Mr. Dalton's effects was wrecked on its way to Georgetown, and he lost a large part of his furniture, books and pictures. His silver only was insured, so that the disaster was a serious loss to him. The anticipated rise in value in real estate at Washington did not take place. His agent was dishonest. The speculation proved a failure, and Dalton, with nearly all the others engaged in the enterprise, lost his property and

was reduced to such a condition that he was forced to accept a situation in the Boston Custom House for his support. He removed to Boston in 1815, and died very suddenly, two years after, on the 30th of May, 1817. His wife survived him for some years, and died Jan. 10, 1826, aged eighty-seven years.

So much concerning the life and public services of Tristram Dalton, who was quite a celebrity in his day, but is now unknown except to the few who are related to him or who, for special reasons, have some curiosity respecting him. It remains to say a few words upon the man himself, and some incidental matters suggested by this inquiry into his life and times.

There is a portrait of him in the possession of his great granddaughter taken when he was eighteen years of age, just after he graduated, which is supposed to have been painted by Blackburn. It appears from this that he was tall and well-formed, with a fine, clear complexion and a smooth, open brow; he had full, dark eyes, rather a long nose, and a firm, well-set mouth and chin. The general expression of his face is open and intelligent. His dress, after the fashion of the time, short clothes and knee breeches; coat with standing collar and deep, broad lapels faced with silk; white satin waistcoat, cut deep and long; ruffled shirt bosom and deep lace cuffs; his hair tied in a cue and puffed on each side; all this gives such an appearance of age and dignity to the figure, that it is difficult to believe it is the portrait of one so young. In the latter part of his life, his figure was very striking and imposing. It has been said by one who saw him, about 1816, in Newburyport, that he was then perfectly erect and firm, with a florid complexion, white hair, and a fine presence. He was fond of music and, when young, played on the flute. He was a fine specimen of the gentleman of the old school. Naturally refined, fond of literature, easy, affable and dig-

nified in his manner, he was well fitted to take a leading part in the best of New England society, as it was constituted in the colonial era. From the time his father died until he was elected to the Senate in 1788, he maintained at his mansion on State street in Newburyport, and at his country-seat at Pipe-stave Hill, a most generous hospitality.

Brissot de Warville, in his account of his travels in this country in 1788, thus describes his visit to Mr. Dalton. After speaking of his place as being on the Merrimac, five miles from Newburyport, he says: "This is one of the finest situations that can be imagined. It presents an agreeable prospect of seven leagues. The farm is extremely well arranged. I saw on it thirty cows, numbers of sheep, etc., and a well furnished garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himself much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples, and pears. He received me with that frankness which bespeaks a man of worth and talents, and with that hospitality which is more general in Massachusetts and New Hampshire than in the other states. His house presented me with the picture of a true patriarchal family and of great domestic felicity."

What delightful society must have met there a hundred years ago! There were Lowell, Tracy and Jackson, Dr. Sawyer, John Coffin Jones, Samuel Alleyn Otis, Rev. Dr. Cary, Judge Greenleaf, and Stephen Hooper, a brother-in-law of Dalton, all graduates of Harvard, all well-to-do, all given to hospitality. Their style of living was graceful, elegant, generous and refined; superior to all pretension and governed by good sense and good taste. Their hospitality and good cheer were famous. An inventory of some of their household effects at this time will give an idea of their habits of life. Dalton had "7 horses, 3 carriages, 560 oz. of plate and, in his cellar, 1200 gallons of

wine." Jonathan Jackson, who inherited from his grandfather and received, the day he was free, twenty thousand golden guineas, and who built the fine house later identified with Lord Timothy Dexter, and who married a sister of Nathaniel Tracy, "kept 4 horses, 4 carriages, had 1000 oz. of silver, 40 oz. of gold, and 1000 gallons of wine in his cellar." John Coffin Jones had "2 horses, 2 carriages, 500 oz. of silver, 20 oz. of gold, 1200 gallons of wine." Dr. Sawyer had two uncommonly handsome daughters, one of whom married a Lee and the other a Schuyler, and who were distinguished far and wide for their superior beauty and style. There is a letter extant, written by Mrs. Tenney of Exeter, who was a very accomplished woman and a daughter of Governor Gilman of New Hampshire, describing parties which she had attended at Washington, in the winter of 1807, at the houses of the President, the Secretary of State and the French Minister, in which she says that she has seen nothing in Washington equal in style and elegance to the parties given by the Sawyer girls in Newburyport.

Another French writer, no less a personage than the Marquis de Chastellux, member of the Academy and Major General serving under the Count de Rochambeau, gives us a charming picture of Mr. Tracy's hospitality to himself and his staff in the summer of 1782. In his "Travels in North America," this author says,—"Two handsome carriages, well equipped, conducted me and my aide-de-camp to his country-house. This house stands a mile from the town, in a very beautiful situation. I went by moonlight to see the garden, which is composed of different terraces. There is likewise a hot-house and a number of young trees. The house is very handsome and well finished, and everything breathes the air of magnificence accompanied with simplicity which is only to be found among merchants. The evening passed rapidly by the

aid of agreeable conversation and a few glasses of punch. The ladies we found assembled were Mrs. Tracy, her two sisters, and their cousin, Miss Lee. Mrs. Tracy has an agreeable and a sensible countenance, and her manners correspond with her appearance. At ten o'clock an excellent supper was served. We drank good wine; Miss Lee sang, and prevailed on Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Taleyrand to sing also. Towards midnight the ladies withdrew, but we continued drinking Madeira and Xery. Mr. Tracy, according to the custom of the country, offered us pipes, which were accepted by M. de Taleyrand and M. de Montesquieu. I continued to converse on trade and politics with Mr. Tracy, who interested me greatly with an account of all the vicissitudes of his fortune since the beginning of the war. At the end of 1777 his brother and he had lost one and forty ships, and with regard to himself, he had not a ray of hope but in a single letter of marque of eight guns, of which he had received no news. As he was walking one day with his brother, and they were reasoning together on the means of subsisting their families (for they were both married) they perceived a sail making for the harbour. He immediately interrupted the conversation, saying to his brother, 'Perhaps it is a prize for me.' The latter laughed at him, but he immediately took a boat, went to meet the ship, and found that it was in fact a prize belonging to him, worth five and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Since that period, he has been almost always fortunate, and he is at present thought to be worth near £120,000 sterling. He has my warmest wishes for his prosperity; for he is a sensible, polite man, and a good patriot. He has always assisted his country in time of need, and, in 1781, lent five thousand pounds to the State of Massachusetts for the clothing of their troops, and that only on the receipt of the Treasurer, yet his quota of taxes in that very year amounted to

six thousand pounds. One can hardly conceive how a simple individual can be burthened so far; but it must be understood that, besides the duty of 5 per cent on importation, required by Congress, the State imposed another tax of the same value on the sale of every article in the nature of an excise,—on rum, sugar, coffee, etc.”

There were two sets of rich men in this place in the last century: one consisted of men of education and culture, who were not merely merchants but high-toned and accomplished gentlemen,—men who enjoyed and appreciated everything that belonged to a high civilization. They built fine residences at some distance from their wharves and warehouses, and surrounded themselves with all the comforts and refinements that wealth could give. Such men were Dalton and Hooper, Tracy and Jackson, John Coffin Jones, the Carters, the Wheelwrights and others. Another class was composed of successful traders whose lives were devoted exclusively to the accumulation of property, and who built fine houses, not where they could command a good view of the open country and breathe the fresh air of heaven, but upon the main streets, so near to their places of business that they were never out of sight of their wharves and ships and the warehouses where they had stored their treasures. Of this class were Bartlett, Brown, Boardman, Marquand, Thomas, Coombs, Pettin-gill and others.

Both classes were equally patriotic and devoted to the cause of the colonies during the revolution. The Newburyport merchants were distinguished for their services and sacrifices in behalf of their country. It was the Newburyport merchants of whom Dalton was one, who, of their own means, furnished four ships of war for the Penobscot expedition which terminated so disastrously that the memory of it has only not been voluntarily lost. I cannot find that there was a single loyalist in the town of Newburyport

during the war, a distinction of which such a community may well be proud. Sabine's history of the loyalists, a work which is considered very thorough and complete, does not give the name of one from the place, although it attempts to give the names of all persons residing in different towns in New England who were forced, by reason of their political opinions, to take refuge abroad.

The letters previously mentioned were written, with the exception of two or three to his brother-in-law Stephen Hooper, to Michael Hodge, who was connected by marriage with Mr. Dalton. His wife was a granddaughter of Tristram Little and a daughter of Stephen Sewell. He was a man of superior ability and intelligence, an ardent Federalist and an intimate friend of Judge Parsons, Judge Greenleaf and Rev. Dr. Cary. The Declaration of Independence, upon its receipt in Newburyport, was first read by him to an eager throng from the window of the old church in Market Square. He was the secretary of the first Marine Insurance Company in Newburyport, which was established in 1776, and had its place of business in the house of Mr. Sewell in Market Square. This office during the Revolution and for some years afterwards was the headquarters for the merchants and Federalists, where all the commercial and political news were found. Nearly all of Mr. Dalton's letters conclude with "give my Compliments to the Gentlemen at the Office." These letters are in three groups: one relating to Shay's rebellion and describing the acts of the legislature to suppress it; another describing the action of the State Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States and revealing some facts which explain clearly how the Constitution was carried; and the third part giving a full and almost daily record of what trans-

pired in congress during Mr. Dalton's term of service as United States Senator.

The first part, relating to Shay's rebellion, were written in 1786 and 1787, when Mr. Dalton was a member of the State Senate. They show very clearly the conflict which then existed between the members of the House, many of whom were in sympathy with the rebels, and the members of the Senate, who were generally on the side of the government. The party which favored the rebels was called Insurrectionists, the other the Friends of Government. The honesty and courage and integrity of Mr. Dalton's character appear very strongly in these letters. In a letter of Nov. 6, 1786, after speaking of the defeat of the tender-bill in the Senate, a measure originated in the House in order to conciliate the rebels, and intended, in effect, to produce a suspension of all legal process by which the payment of a debt could be enforced, he says, "the House will be in a heat on Monday on the occasion the cloven foot appears ; several members discover themselves possessed of the true principles of the insurgents, and I am very sorry to say the majority, from their sentiments or from timidity or some other cause, differ widely from the Senate, who are as firm as the friends of their country can wish them. The coming week will be a serious week ; the welfare, if not the existence of this government, depends on the doings of the General Court. May God grant them wisdom and firmness ! The good, the worthy old patriot, Mr. Adams, says that he is afraid we have forsaken God, and that He has forsaken us. Our conduct, I have often told you, resembles that of the Jews and every day confirms me in this opinion." In another letter he refers to the tender-bill as "that iniquitous measure founded in injustice." In still another dated February 25, 1786, when complaining of the

excessive valuation of Newburyport, he says, "I have ever thought that two and two did not make four in politics, and am now convinced that in the General Court honesty is not the best policy. If a new valuation should hereafter be proposed, to save a town harmless, and to do simple justice, persons of the best heads and worst hearts are necessary to be employed."

Many of his letters contain the last intelligence from the scene of the Rebellion, and profess to give the news which he had personally just received from the Governor's headquarters. He was one of the committee, with Samuel Adams, to urge the Governor to energetic measures. It is clear from the tone of his letters that he was firm and unflinching in his determination to compel the rebels to submit to the authority of law, before he would show them any mercy. His manifest opportunity to get the best intelligence of the movement of the rebels may be explained by the fact that his friend and former townsman, Jonathan Jackson, was on General Lincoln's staff, and was a bearer of despatches from the headquarters of the General in the Field to the Governor's headquarters at the State House.

His letters, written while a member of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, reveal very clearly the intense interest he took in the business and in the expedients, of which Parsons was manifestly the author, employed to secure a majority of the convention in its favor. At first, he writes very doubtfully respecting the result, but as the discussion proceeds his courage gains strength. On the twentieth of January, 1788, he writes, "Every day brings new conviction. Each paragraph appears better on strict examination. The whole is a masterpiece. If the Governor comes forward, we shall be much indebted to him for the adoption of the Constitution. If it should be rejected, we must thank Mr. Gerry. Of how

much importance, sometimes, is the voice of a single man !
 My love to your good family and mine, as I have not time to write Mrs. D., snatching a moment now while in a caucus. It is thought the grand question will be put to-morrow and determined on Saturday : perhaps it may be on Tuesday—great and important indeed the day on which the vote will be determined ! I will tell you, as a confidential communication, that Mr. S. Adams will come out in favor of the Constitution. This and the Governor on the same side will settle the matter favorably. All this is scarcely known out of our caucus, wherein we work as hard as in convention. God bless you all, and give us success in the present undertaking. Never,—never were men more anxious than we are. All that is dear is at stake. Mr. Parsons is with us this evening, thoroughly well and ardently engaged. I am well, of which please to advise. Pray remember me to my kind mother, Mr. Hooper, and all friends, and believe me, your most aff. friend,

T. D.

P. S. Our friend D's communication will give you all the information we are at liberty to put on paper. We have stolen a moment in caucus to write this.

Yours,

T. P. [*Theophilus Parsons.*]

Boston, Wednesday Evening, Feb. 6, 1788.

TO STEPHEN HOOPER, ESQ.

MY DEAR BROTHER :

God be praised !

With the utmost satisfaction I now announce to you and to my fellow citizens, which pray communicate, the joyful,—the important news that this afternoon, at 5 o'clock, the convention consented to ratify the proposed Constitution:—the members for were 187; against, 168.

Ardent, indeed, have been the labors of the Federalists,—anxious their hours by night, as well as by day. The decision of the great question amply rewards them !

We, the delegates of Newburyport and Newbury, anticipate the pleasure of taking you all by the hand on Friday evening or Saturday morning, proposing to take a coach or sley here, on Friday.

Some little ceremonies are yet necessary, for which purpose the Convention meet to-morrow. There is no doubt of our seeing you on Saturday. Please to acquaint your dear sister of this.

Time does not permit me to add, save my love, compliments, etc., as due, and that I am, with great regards,

Your aff. Brother,

TRISTRAM DALTON.

P. S. The Judge is ten years younger.

[*This refers to Judge Greenleaf.*]

His letters written from New York, while U. S. Senator, contain an account of the delay in the organization of the two Houses,—the inauguration of the President,—the question of presidential titles, the classifications of Senators,—the discussion of the bills concerning imposts, revenue, tonnage duties, duty on molasses, rum and tea,—the debates on the judiciary, lighthouses, removal from office, and the permanent location of the seat of government. They contain nothing new on these different heads, but they are interesting as the statement of a witness who tells his story not from hearsay but from actual observation, and, like all such testimony, they help the imagination very much in reproducing the past. A few extracts must suffice.

New York, May 2nd, 1789.

TO M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR:

Inclosed you have the Gazette, which will hand the current news with us. The scene of Thursday was truly affecting. If it was possible, our beloved President has increased the affections of all orders of people for him,—his speech to his “Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives” is esteemed a Master piece. I anticipate the pleasure that it will be received with by the People of the United States,—and the satisfaction that you will enjoy in reading

it to the Gentlemen of the office. The graceful dignity with which he delivered it added, if ought could add, a greater weight to the noble, generous sentiments in the address.

The two houses have appointed Committees to report answers there-to: he will in them have no title given him but what the Constitution affixes to the office.

You will see by the public prints that the houses have a *second* time voted to lay an impost of 6 Cents pr gallon on Molasses. This *second* decision does not alter my opinion, suggested to you in my late letters, that the bill will wear a much better face before it is sent to the Senate. It cannot be finished in its present form. All the Members from Massachusetts, of *both houses*, are using their utmost endeavors to rectify the Ideas of Gentlemen whom they judge are wrongly informed. We cannot think that any measures will *finally* be adopted by the Majority but such as shall be esteemed for the best general good. . . .

New York, May 10th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am obliged by the receipt of your kind advices under the 28th ulto. and beg that you will continue to hand me the sentiments of Gentlemen with you on the business before Congress. They will serve, *frequently*, to give new Ideas,—always a confidence in our own.

The business of impost is still before the House of Representatives,—an endeavor was made yesterday to alter the system by lowering the duties generally,—on the question of reducing that on W. I. Rum, there appeared 20 pro., 25 con., so this idea did not prevail. I still retain the hopes of the impost on Molasses being very considerably reduced.

The papers will hand you the general news in this city. The V. President's speech to the Senate I am informed is much esteemed by the People in Massachusetts—it is so here. What do you say to that of the President delivered to Congress? It is here universally admired. It has served to increase, if possible, the affections of all orders and ranks. Be full—be particular in your letters.—Let me know every occurrence with you—every sentiment—every wish that may be thought useful in this my station. . . .

To serve my country is my highest ambition—to render agreeable services to the Gentlemen of my Native Town, my greatest Pleasure.—My best respects ever attend them—remaining with real regards,

Dr. Sir,

Your affect^{te} friend,

M. HODGE, Esq.

TRISTRAM DALTON.

New York, May 17th, 1789.

. . . . To-morrow at 11. Clock the Vice President & the Senate are to wait on the President at his own house with their address—which I think you will read with pleasure to the Gentlemen of the Office. There is to be no title in addition to that of President of the United States, not even "*George Washington*." A Resolution entered on the Journals of the Senate, which will soon be published, contains the opinion of the Senate on this subject—and gives the reason for their complying, *in this instance*, with the form used by the other house. My Compliments to all friends must conclude me at present,—remaining with real regards,

Your affectionate friend,

M. HODGE, ESQ.

TRISTRAM DALTON.

New York, May 30, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR: The various interests, as some suppose, oblige each one to be watchful of any proposition that may affect the State he represents, but every day's discussion tends to remove the illusion of their being different interests in the Union, and to prove that we are the several limbs of the same body—most intimately connected in point of interest—wound any member & the whole will feel the effects.

New York, June 2nd, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR. There was a proposal to place 40 cents pr hundred upon Iron imported,—this I opposed with success—and it stands among the 5 pr cent articles.—Everything that can affect ship-building I shall watch with a jealous Eye—This manufacture appearing to me to deserve every encouragement upon *National* principles & the affection I feel for my Native Town adds force to my inclinations to protect a Business which is of so much Consequence.

This day the Senate have gone thro' the consideration of the Impost Bill—subject, however, to alterations in any way, at the next reading, when I shall place before them such arguments in favor of reducing the duty on Molasses still lower,—it standing at present at 4 cents,—as must obtain 1 Cent—a drawback on Rum manufactured from Molasses and exported to foreign ports will be allowed, nearly equal to the impost on the raw material.

New York, June 4th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR.

I have only a minute to acquaint you that the Senate have been, this forenoon, *wholly* on the duty on Molasses.—It is now put at 3 Cents pr gallon. From the disposition discovered, I suspect that the Issue of the whole matter in the Senate will be a proposition of Amendment by putting Molasses at two Cents and allowing no drawback on that or the Rum made from it.—This I shall not acquiesce in unless to prevent a worse Evil.

Yours affecty,

M. HODGE, ESQ^R.

T. DALTON.

Mr. Morris was warm for its being kept at 4 Cents, as was Mr. Ellsworth, one of the best speakers in the Senate. The Question was tyed and the Vice President turned it in favor of *the 3 Cents*.

New York, Septem. 20, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR. . . . The permanent residence Bill will not be completed this session—great difficulties must present themselves in the prosecution of this affair, and for years to come real disadvantages accrue, if the Plan succeeds of fixing on any Country Place, distant from a large Town.

After spending a little more time on this business and vibrating from one *proposed* place to another, it is probable they will by and bye sit down in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. The Eastern Gentlemen were obliged to press the scheme for the Susquehannah, to prevent going to the Potowmak. The Virginians & those who were violent for the latter are now much chagrined at their insisting on the Question's being brought on at this time. . . .

Boston, October 25, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR.

I am favor'd with yours of the 24th and in presence of Capt. Wyer, Mr. Jackson & I have discoursed on the subject—many particulars have been mentioned, which the former will relate. The President of the U. States intends to leave this Town for Salem on Thursday—to be at Newburyport on Friday—whether at dinner or in the Evening is as yet uncertain—as soon as it is known you shall be advised—Mr. Lear, the Secretary of the President, goes in the Stage to-morrow for Portsmouth—It might be well for you to see him—It

is the intention of the President not to make any private house his rendezvous. I wish that I could be more particular but Capt. Wyer will convince you this is not at present in my power.

I am, with sincere regards,

Dear Sir,

Your friend, &c.

T. DALTON.

M. HODGE, ESQ.

It is evident from Mr. Dalton's letters that his constituents were specially interested in the duties on rum and molasses. In his letter of May 30, 1789, he says, "The impost bill will come up to-morrow when every exertion shall be made by me to place molasses on a better footing. The Southern gentlemen say that they are sick of the word,—if they will disgorge one cent more we must make the best of it, Pennsylvania being against us in the Senate, and no state particularly interested in the business except Massachusetts. Brother Strong and myself have a hard and unequal battle. No difficulty, however, shall deter me from performing what I esteem to be my duty, — having discharged that, I rely on the candor and good-will of my fellow-citizens. Adieu,—remember me to all friends, especially those concerned in the molasses trade."

In a letter of July, 1789, after commenting on the duties imposed on foreign rum as a compensation to the duties on molasses, he says, "I find that every one is pleased with the issue; it is not so with me. The allowing of no drawback on country-made rum, exported to foreign markets, is totally un-commercial, and will affect our distilleries unless Congress shall, in a future day, restore the clause granting this encouragement to this most useful manufacture, considered in all its parts."

In looking over his letters, it is interesting to observe the imperfect and dilatory mode of communication existing at that period, as compared with the facilities we now have. In a letter from New York to his friend Michael Hodge, of

Sept. 20, 1789, he says, "Mrs. Dalton and the family arrived here safely in 7 days,—*great despatch* for 300 miles." His family travelled in state, in a coach emblazoned with his coat of arms, with servants in livery, and four horses. In another letter of March 17, 1790, he says, "By the enclosed papers of this week, the public have been informed that a vessel is arrived at Newburyport from France, which brought an account of the King of France having escaped from that kingdom. Of course, gentlemen applied to me for particulars of this news,—I had none to give, and really suggested that this report must be without foundation, because I had no advice of the same; for this reason also I felt easy as to myself. But Mr. Tracy tells me that he has a letter from Mr. Chapman, mentioning the arrival of a vessel at Newburyport from Bilboa which brings this same report. Judge you, then, how I must feel in being obliged to confess that not one of my friends has thought proper to give me even a hint of this."

In one or two letters of his, we get an indication of his views on the question of slavery. In one of May 17, 1790, in describing the duties which had been imposed on vessels, and on goods imported in American bottoms, he says, "a duty of ten dollars *per* head will be laid on imported negroes by a separate act, and the five *per cent* duty generally laid by the Bill in agitation not extended to this *inhuman traffic*." In another: "the House of Representatives have spent the last week upon the subject of slavery. I esteem it an unhappy question, because it tends to irritate, can answer no valuable purpose, and puts by the more essential business." What he meant by "more essential business" was the passage of the Bill to fund the National Debt, and the Bill concerning Navigation. In a letter of May 22, 1790, he writes: "Every obstruction will be thrown in the way of the navigation law. The

Massachusetts members will support it most warmly. The passing of it, which is doubtful in the Senate, must benefit the Union, and materially affect the two eastern states. Then should we hear again the axe and the maul, and Merrimac resound the joyful noise." The disastrous effect of the war and of its immediate consequences upon the ship-building interest in Newburyport may be measured by the fact, that in 1772 ninety vessels were built here, and in 1778 only three.

It has been said that Mr. Dalton was superseded by Mr. Cabot, probably, because he was not sufficiently partisan to suit the leaders of the Federalists. He was a candidate for reelection, and his defeat was manifestly a serious disappointment to him, but he bore it so calmly and so philosophically that it only raises him in our regard and esteem. His letters, written at this time, in the confidence of friendship, to his intimate friend Mr. Hodge, contain not a trace of anger or vindictiveness, or of any mean quality. It is only a nature happily organized that can keep its temper under such a trial. In his letter of July 4, 1790, he says, speaking of his defeat, "where men have behaved open, honest, candid, I can embrace them heartily, although their interest was not exerted in my favor. They have best promoted my own happiness. I feel pleasure in the anticipation of sitting down with my friends on the banks of the Merrimac. I never placed my hopes on the caprices of the people. They are on a better foundation, I trust." In an earlier letter of August 16, 1789, he says, "many ill-natured reports are handed about, with intent to prejudice my character. Fortunately, they have been founded on the most improbable grounds. . . . I propose to continue a line of conduct which shall have for its basis liberality and the best general good ; and, for its reward, I hope to receive the approbation of the good citizens of this, our country."

Such sentiments may be inconsistent with the spirit of extreme partisanship, but they do honor to him as a man. That his defeat, however, was a severe disappointment to him is clear from a passage in a letter of Fisher Ames to his friend Thomas Dwight, of June 27, 1790, where he says, "Poor D. suffers the pains of a public man. I cannot think that George Cabot will serve."

By his marriage with Ruth Hooper he had ten children; four boys and six girls. Three of his daughters only lived to grow up. All of the boys and one of the girls died in childhood. The loss of his sons was a great affliction to him. In a letter written in 1790 to his friend Mr. Hodge, congratulating him on the safe return of his son John from a sea voyage, he says, "alas! for me, I have no sons whose return I shall ever welcome." His eldest daughter, Mary, married Hon. Leonard White of Haverhill, at one time a member of Congress. His daughter Ruth married a Mr. Deblois, a merchant in Boston. Katherine was never married.

How the remainder of his life was passed after his public career was terminated by this defeat has already been, in brief, related.

Like his father, he belonged to the Episcopal church, and all his life was one of its most devoted and active members, contributing largely to its support and performing valuable services in its behalf. But in his religion, as in his politics, he was free from bigotry and sectarianism. The sweetness and liberality of his Christian spirit are beautifully illustrated in the following extract from a letter, written by him from Washington Jan. 25, 1812, to the ministers, wardens, and vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, in acknowledgment of an elegant copy of the Church liturgy. "In the evening of a long life, it affords me true joy and happiness to share the extension and in-

crease of Christian charity among members of different sects; owing chiefly, I believe, to an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, from the defective bonds formed by men which have tended rather to divide than unite the disciples of Jesus Christ, who, having one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, ought to esteem each other as of one family, differing only in modes of worshipping the same God, Father of all."

Upon the whole, after a careful study of the man, with such means of information as are now available, he may be thus described :

Physically, he was well-built, large and robust, with a fine, erect figure, an open, benevolent and handsome face, and that natural air of superiority which implies a fine organization. His mental powers, though good, were not remarkable. Sensible, intelligent and refined, there was nothing in the force or capacity of his mind to distinguish him from those of the class who had enjoyed, like him, the advantages of culture and of the best society. His moral nature was of the highest order. Kind, generous, temperate, upright, truthful and unselfish, in the social and domestic relations he was a model man, a dutiful son, a kind father, a good citizen and an ardent patriot. A man of emotions rather than of ideas, the warmth and depth and sincerity of his feelings lifted him above all personal considerations, and gave to him that elevation and nobility of character which appeal so strongly to our regard and affection. Take him for all in all, he was a fine specimen of an accomplished Christian gentleman of the old school,—of the class which was the best product of the colonial period, and which perished under the influence of the democratic ideas introduced by the Revolution.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

Compiled by Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard, member of "The American Historical Association;" corresponding member of "The New England Historic Genealogical Society;" member of "The Long Island Historical Society;" and corresponding member of "The Maine Historical Society."

Author of "Brattleboro in Verse and Prose" and "Life and Public Services of General John Wolcott Phelps."

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the emigrant ancestor of all bearing that name in the United States, settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638.¹ This is the generally accepted date, although Mr. Paige gives, in his History of Cambridge, 1636. The birthplace of Nathaniel Sparhawk was in Dedham, Essex Co., England, and his parents were Lewis and Elizabeth (Bayning) Sparhawk. At the time of his coming to New England, he was in the fortieth year of his age. He was made freeman, May 23, 1639, and a deacon of the church of Cambridge. Three years later he was deputy to the General Court, from 1642 to 1647. In May, 1645, he was one of "a committee to consider of some way whereby y^e negative vote may be tempered, y^t justice may have free passage."

From various sources we learn that he was a man of large property, most of which was in real estate within or

¹ See "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register," vol. 19, p. 126. "The family of Nathaniel Sparhawk," by Wm. Sumner Appleton, A.M.

near Cambridge.¹ His residence was on the easterly side of Brighton street, between Mount Auburn street and Harvard square. In 1642, he is represented as owning five houses and about five hundred acres of land.

By his wife Mary (whose maiden name is unknown), he had five or more children. Of these, the eldest, Nathaniel, was born in England, and probably all but the youngest.² The following is the list of his children in the probable order of their birth.

- 1 Nathaniel, ———; m. Patience Newman, Oct. 3, 1649; d. Jan., 1687.
- 2 Anne, ———; m., 1st, Deacon Jno. Cooper; 2nd, James Convers, sr., of Woburn, Mass.
- 3 Mary, ———; m. Capt. William Symmes.
- 4 Esther, ———; m. Samuel Adams, May 7, 1668.
- 5 Samuel, b. Aug. 27, 1638; d. Aug. 13, 1639.

Mrs. Mary Sparhawk died in Cambridge, Mass., January 25, 1643-4. Her husband soon after married again and by his second wife, Katherine, had

- 6 Ruth, b. April 12, 1645; d. May 7, 1645.
- 7 Elizabeth, b. ———, 1646; d. unm. Nov. 9, 1692.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., died June 28, 1647, and his wife, Mrs. Katherine Sparhawk, July 5 of the same year.

At the time of Nathaniel Sparhawk's death, we are told by Paige, in his History of Cambridge, that about a thousand acres were sold from the estate and that there was still remaining "a large quantity of land on the south side of the river (now Brighton district), a part of which still remains in possession of his descendants." This shows a large increase in his real estate during the last five years of his life.

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 657.

² "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, vol. 19, p. 126.

1 Nathaniel Sparhawk, jr., married Patience (the daughter of Rev. Samuel) Newman of Rehoboth, Oct. 3, 1649,¹ and they had seven children.

- 8 Nathaniel, b. Nov. 3, 1650; d. Feb. 12, 1650-51.
- 9 Mary, b. about 1652; m. Wm. Barrett, Oct. 8, 1673; d. Oct., 1673.
- 10 Sybil, b. 1655; m., 1st, Dr. Jon. Avery, July 22, 1679; 2nd, Rev. M. Wigglesworth; d. Aug. 6, 1708.
- 11 Esther, bapt. May 5, 1661.
- 12 Samuel, bapt. Feb. 5, 1664; m. Sarah Whiting; d. Nov. 2, 1713.
- 13 Nathaniel, bapt. Nov. 3, 1667; m. Abigail Gates; d. 1734.
- 14 John, b. about 1672; m., 1st, Eliz. Poole; 2nd, Miss Priscilla Hemans; d. April 29, 1718.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the father, died in January, 1687. He had been a resident of Brighton district; was selectman from 1677 to 1686, and a deacon of the church, as was his father before him. His will was dated Dec. 29, 1686, and an inventory of his estate was presented to the court, Jan. 20, 1686-7.

2 Anne Sparhawk married Deacon John Cooper, "who undoubtedly came from Dedham, England," says Mr. Appleton in his sketch of "the family of Nathaniel Sparhawk," published first in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for April, 1865, and afterward in pamphlet form.

They had children :

- 15 Anna, b. Nov. 16, 1643; m. Edward Pinson, Aug. 2, 1664; d. May 8, 1666, *s. p.*
- 16 Mary, b. Sept. 11, 1645; m. Jno. Meriam, Aug. 21, 1663.
- 17 John, b. April 2, 1651; d. Aug. 26, 1652.
- 18 Sam'l, b. Jan. 3, 1653-4; m. Hannah Hastings, 1682; d. Jan. 8, 1717-18.
- 19 John, b. Oct. 3, 1656; m. Elizabeth Bordman, 1686; d. Feb. 12, 1735-6.
- 20 Nathaniel, b. May 2, 1659; d. Dec. 19, 1661.

¹ MSS. in possession of Edward Eppes Sparhawk, Esq., of Roxbury, Massachusetts.

21 Lydia, b. April 8, 1662; m. Jno. Francis Jan. 5, 1687-8.

22 Anna, b. 1668; d. in 1712, in Woburn.

Deacon John Cooper, the father of these children, resided on the easterly side of North Avenue, in Cambridge, not far from Linnean street, and was a prominent citizen. For thirty-eight years he was one of the selectmen (1646-1684), and town clerk thirteen years (1669-81). He was also deacon of the church until his death which occurred Aug. 22, 1691, in the 73d year of his age. His widow Mrs. Anne (Sparhawk) Cooper married James Convers, sr., of Woburn, and was living as late as 1712.

3 Mary Sparhawk married Capt. William Symmes¹ and had :

23 Sarah, b. —; m. Moses Fisk.

4 Esther Sparhawk married Samuel Adams of Chelmsford, Mass., and in 1693 had only two children living.

24 Joseph.

25 Benjamin.

(There is nothing more to be found of this family.)

10 Sybil Sparhawk married Dr. Jonathan Avery, July 22, 1679.

Their children were :

26 Margaret, b. Nov. 9, 1681; d. in infancy.

27 Sybil, b. Aug. 11, 1683; m. Hon. Thomas Graves; d. Nov. 1, 1721.

28 Margaret, b. 1685; d. at Malden, Nov. 10, 1694.

29 Dorothy, b. July 11, 1688; prob. d. unm.

After Dr. Jonathan Avery's death which probably occurred in 1690, Mrs. Sybil Sparhawk Avery married Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, a famous Boston divine, the author of "The day of doom."

¹See "N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.," vol. 34, p. 313.

Their child was :

- 30 Edward, b. 1692; m., 1st, Sarah Leverett, June 15, 1726(*s. p.*);
2nd, Rebecca Coolidge, Sept. 10, 1729.

The Rev. Michael Wigglesworth died June 10, 1705, and Mrs. Sybil (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth died August 6, 1708.

12 Samuel Sparhawk married Sarah (daughter of Rev. Joseph) Whiting, of Lynn, Mass.

Their children were :

- 31 Samuel, b. Oct., 1698; m. Joanna Winchester; d. Apr. 14, 1774.
32 Sarah, b. Oct., 1699; d. Oct. 9, 1701.
33 Sarah, b. Dec. 22, 1700.
34 John, b. June 12, 1702; m. Miss Jacobs; d. 1747.
35 Simon, b. Nov. 30, 1704; d. in infancy.
36 Thomas, b. May 25, 1706; m. Mary Oliver, 1731; d. Aug. 16, 1783.
37 Joseph, b. April 2, 1708; m., 1st, Miss Cook; 2d, Miss Sibley.

Samuel Sparhawk was a freeman in 1690, and a selectman from 1701 to 1710, and died Nov. 2, 1713. Mrs. Sarah Sparhawk died Dec. 8, 1752, æ. 84.

13 Nathaniel Sparhawk married Abigail (daughter of Simon) Gates in 1693.

- 38 Nathaniel, b. 1694; m. Elizabeth Perkins; d. May 7, 1732.
39 Noah, b. 1696; m. Priscilla Brown, Sept. 24, 1724; d. 1749.
40 Abigail, b. 1700; m. Thos. Williams, Aug. 30, 1733, *s. p.*
41 Simon, b. ———; m. Miss Stoughton.

Nathaniel Sparhawk was selectman from 1716 to 1730, was elected deacon Aug. 5, 1724, and died Nov. 8, 1734. Mrs. Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk afterward married Joseph Mayo, Oct. 16, 1735, and attained extreme old age.

14 Rev. John Sparhawk married, first, Elizabeth Poole and, second, Priscilla Hemans, who is supposed to have been the mother of his sons

- 42 John, b. Sept. 27, 1711; m. Jane Porter, Oct. 4, 1737; d. April 30, 1755.
 43 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 27, 1715; m. Elizabeth Pepperrell, June 10, 1742.

Rev. John Sparhawk graduated at Harvard College in 1689, being the first of the family to attend college. He was the second pastor over the First Church in Bristol, Rhode Island, whose house of worship was erected in 1687. (It was rebuilt in 1770, and the present edifice erected in 1857.) On Oct. 2, 1695, Rev. John Sparhawk, after a year's probation, was installed as pastor of the church. He married two or three times.¹ The names of two of his wives are known; Miss Elizabeth Poole, and Miss Priscilla Hemans.² The last is supposed to have been the mother of his sons John and Nathaniel. His first wife probably died childless. He died April 29, 1718, in the 46th year of his age "greatly loved and respected by all his people, and his death was lamented for many years." His widow married Jonathan Waldo, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Boston, who educated her two sons at his own expense.

18 Samuel Cooper married Hannah (daughter of Deacon Walter) Hastings, Dec. 4, 1682.

- 44 Hannah, b. Dec. 23, 1683; m. E. Frost, Feb. 1, 1710-11.
 45 Lydia, b. March 9, 1684; m. Jon. Gove, Dec. 26, 1706.
 46 Sarah, b. ———; m. Ephraim Frost, jr., Sept. 9, 1714.
 47 Samuel, b. ———; m. Sarah Kidder, March 29, 1720.
 48 Mary, b. ———; m. Nath'l Goddard, Nov. 26, 1723.
 49 Elizabeth, b. ———; prob. d. young.
 50 Walter, b. ———; m. Martha Goddard, June 7, 1722.
 51 John, b. Oct. 2, 1698; m. Lydia Prentice, April 6, 1721.
 52 Jonathan, b. Dec. 6, 1707; m. Sarah Prentice, Oct. 25, 1732.

¹ Savage's Genealogical Dictionary.

² "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis." by Mrs. M. P. S. Cutts, p. 426.

Samuel Cooper, the father, died January 8, 1717-18, and his wife Mrs. Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, died Oct. 9, 1732, æ. 66.

19 John Cooper married Elizabeth (daughter of Wm.) Bordman, April 28, 1686.

53 John, b. ———; m. Hannah Johnson, Oct. 21, 1725.

54 Elizabeth, b. ———.

55 Elizabeth, b. ———; m. Samuel Andrew, April 10, 1741; s. p.

56 Anna, b. ———; m. Jos. Carter, Feb. 12, 1718-19.

57 Hannah, b. Dec. 29, 1701.

58 Sarah, b. April 9, 1704.

59 Timothy, b. April 9, 1706.

60 Joshua, b. Jan. 25, 1708-9.

61 Abigail, b. July 10, 1711.

John Cooper, the father, resided on the easterly side of North Avenue, his estate adjoining that of his father. He died Feb. 12, 1735-6. Mrs. Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper died Nov. 15, 1713. The amount of his estate was \$2,868.53.¹

21 Lydia Cooper married John Francis, Jan. 5, 1687-8.

62 John, b. Oct. 10, 1688; d. young.

63 John, b. Feb. 17, 1689-90; d. at Medford Aug. 31, 1750.

64 Stephen, b. Nov. 2, 1691.

65 Nathaniel, b. 1693; m. Ann ———.

66 Samuel, b. Feb. 17, 1695-96.

67 Anna, b. Nov. 2, 1697; m. Benj. Dana, July 23, 1724.

68 Joseph, b. Jan. 5, 1699-1700; m. Elizabeth ———.

69 Ebenezer, b. Oct. 30, 1701; d. Mar. 23, 1702-3.

70 Lydia, b. April 20, 1703; m. Jos. Tufts.

71 Ebenezer, b. Mar. 25, 1708; m. Rachel Tufts, Nov. 15, 1733.

John Francis, sr., died Jan. 3, 1727-8 (in Medford, Mass., where he had previously removed), æ. 78, and administration was granted to his eldest son John.

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 517.

27 Sybil Avery, daughter of Dr. Jonathan and Sybil (Sparhawk) Avery, married Hon. Thomas Graves of Charlestown, Mass., Sept 9, 1708. They had seven children ; but of the five who are known to have died in infancy the names are unknown. The remaining two who follow were :

72 Katherine, b. April 2, 1717 ; m. Hon. Jas. Russell, April, 1738 ;

73 Margaret, b. July 19, 1719 ; m. Samuel Cary, Dec. 24, 1741 ;
d. Oct. 8, 1782.

Hon. Thomas Graves was born June 28, 1683. Graduated at Harvard College in 1703. He was a physician and judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He died June 19, 1747. Mrs. Sybil (Avery) Graves died Nov. 1, 1721, of small-pox. Her husband was married twice after the death of this first wife. His second wife was Ann, widow of Edward Watts of Chelsea, and she died March 13, 1738, aged 49. His last wife was Phoebe, the widow of Leonard Vassall, Esq., of Boston, and a daughter of Samuel and Mary (Cutts) Penhallow of Portsmouth, N. H. Thus she was granddaughter of President John Cutts of that city on the maternal side. She survived her husband but a short time.

30 Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, son of Rev. Michael and Sybil (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth, married, first, Miss Sarah, the daughter of President John and Margaret (Rogers) Leverett, June 15, 1726. Her father was President of Harvard College. She died, Nov. 9, 1727, leaving no children, and he married as his second wife, Rebecca Coolidge, dau. of Joseph and Rebecca (Frost) Coolidge, Sept. 10, 1729. He was the first Hollis Professor of divinity at Harvard College, and graduated from there in 1710. His degree of D.D. was received from Edinburgh in 1730.

Children by second wife were :

74 Rebecca, b. June 18, 1730; m. Prof. Steph. Sewall, Aug. 9, 1763; d. 1783.

75 Edward, b. Feb. 7, 1732; m., 1st, Margaret Hill, 1765; 2nd, Dorothy Sparhawk, Jan. 6, 1778; d. June 17, 1794.

76 Mary, b. April 26, 1733; d. July 5, 1758.

77 Sybil, bapt. Sept. 19, 1736; d. Dec. 28, 1740.

Mrs. Rebecca C. Wigglesworth died June 5, 1754,
æ. 55. Rev. Edward Wigglesworth died Jan. 16, 1765.

31 Samuel Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married Joanna Winchester,¹ and had :

78 Samuel, jr., b. Jan. 17, 1730; m. Elizabeth Gardner, Mar. 23, 1758.

79 Joanna, bapt. Jan., 1732-3; m. Col. Thos. Gardner, June 12, 1755.

80 Sarah, bapt. Nov. 3, 1734; prob. d. young.

81 Dorothy, b. July 14, 1739; m. Prof. E. Wigglesworth, Jan. 6, 1778.

82 John, b. Nov. 8, 1745; m. Miss Jacobs.

83 Elizabeth, b. Mar. 11, 1754; d. Feb., 1796.

Samuel Sparhawk, sr., was selectman from 1737 to '41; elected deacon, April 12, 1734; and died April 14, 1774. At the time his will was made in Aug., 1771, his wife and children were all living.

34 John Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married a Miss Jacobs, and they had :

84 Sarah.

85 Hannah, m. ——— Perry.

Mr. John Sparhawk graduated at Harvard College, 1723, and died in 1747.

36 Thomas Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Oliver, Jan. 14, 1730-1.

Their children were :

¹ MSS. family tree in possession of E. E. Sparhawk, Esq., Roxbury, Mass.

- 86 Mary, b. Jan. 3, 1731-2; m. Isaac Gardner, jr., April 26, 1753.
- 87 Elizabeth, bapt. Sept. 30, 1733; m. Elisha Gardner, June 21, 1753.
- 88 Sybil, b. July 13, 1735; m. Samuel Aspinwall, May 25, 1758.
- 89 Thomas, b. Mar. 16, 1736-7; m. Rebecca Stearns.
- 90 Lucy, b. Aug. 14, 1738; m. Col. Thomas Aspinwall.
- 91 Katherine, b. Dec. 16, 1739; m. Elijah Hough or Houghton, Nov. 27, 1760.
- 92 Oliver, bapt. April 1, 1742; d. unm., 1762.
- 93 Abigail, b. April 19, 1746; m., 1st, Hull Sewall, s. p., Mar. 20, 1766; 2nd, Palsgrave Wellington, M.D., 1772.

Thomas Sparhawk, sr., was selectman in Cambridge, Mass., from 1744 to 1764. He was also a Justice of the Peace, and died Aug. 15, 1783, at which time his wife, Mrs. Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, was still living.

37 Mr. Joseph Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married a Miss Cook and afterwards Miss Sibley. His children were :

- 94 Joseph.
- 95 Hannah.
- 96 Timothy, m. Miss Conant.
- 97 Elizabeth.

It is still unknown whether these children were by the first or second wife. The names are from Mr. E. E. Sparhawk's family tree.

38 Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Lynnfield, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, was ordained at Lynnfield, August, 1720, and a graduate of Harvard College, 1715. He married Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins (published in Lynn, Mass., March 8, 1719-20). He died May 7, 1732. She died suddenly May 12, 1768, æ. 68.

Their children were :

- 98 Elizabeth, b. Dec. 28, 1721; d. young.
- 99 Nathaniel, b. Sept. 24, 1725; d. young.
- 100 Edward Perkins, b. July 10, 1728; (Rev.); m., 1st, M. Putnam; 2nd, Mrs. Adams.¹
- 101 John, b. Oct. 24, 1730; (M.D.); m. Eliza Perkins.

¹ MSS, tree in possession of E. E. Sparhawk.

39 Noah Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, married Priscilla, daughter of Ichabod Brown, Sept. 24, 1724.

102 Priscilla, b. Aug. 6, 1725; m. Abr. Cutting.

103 Nathaniel, b. 1727; m., 1st, Lydia Blake, 1753; 2nd, H. Murdock, 1767; d. 1777.

104 Noah, jr., b. 1729; m., 1st, A. Frink; 2nd, L. Whipple.

105 Martha, b. 1731; m. John Hancock.

106 Nathan, b. 1734; m., 1st, Miss Weeks; 2nd, Miss Clapham.

107 Ebenezer, b. June 15, 1738; m., 1st, A. Stearns, Sept., 1763.

108 George, b. 1742; d. 1757.

Noah Sparhawk, sr., died February 4, 1748-9; his wife Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk survived, and administration on her estate was granted to her son Nathaniel, April 18, 1765.

41 Simon Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, married Miss Stoughton, and their children were:

109 Patience, m. Mr. Avery.

110 Simon, bapt. April, 1737.

111 Sarah, bapt. May, 1737.

No further record of this family has been found.

42 Rev. John Sparhawk, jr., son of Rev. John and Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, married Jane Porter, daughter of Rev. Aaron Porter (and his wife Miss Sewall) of Medford, Mass., Oct. 4, 1737. He graduated from Harvard College in 1731, and was ordained Oct., 1736, as pastor of the first church of Salem, Mass. Quoting from his memorandum book now in the possession of Mr. Edward Eppes Sparhawk of Roxbury, Mass., we have the following statement:

"Dec^{br}. 8, 1736. On this day was the ordination at which time there were convened the following churches; The Second Church in Salem, the Rev. Mr. Clark, Minister; and the Third Church, the Rev. Mr. Prescott, Minister;

the Second ch. of Marblehead, the Rev. Mr. Holyoke, Minister; the Second ch. of Beverly, the Rev. Mr. Chipman, Minister; the church of Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Appleton, minister; and the first church of Reading, Rev. Mr. Hobby, Minister. Mr. Chipman began with prayer. Mr. Appleton preached,—Prov. 11, 30. Mr. Holyoke gave the charge and Mr. Prescott the Right Hand of Fellowship. The whole service was performed with the greatest order and decency." This quotation is given in an abbreviated form in Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth" Second Series, p. 187.

The children of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk were :

- 112 Priscilla, b. Aug. 31, 1738; m. Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Sept. 2, 1755; d. Mar. 19, 1798.
- 113 Jane, b. April 16, 1740; d. Jan. 25, 1741.
- 114 Catherine, b. May 25, 1741; m. Nathaniel Sparhawk (see 126).
- 115 John, b. Feb. 16, 1743; m. Abigail King, Jan. 12, 1769; d. 1787.
- 116 Samuel, b. Nov. 6, 1744.
- 117 Nathaniel, b. March 27, 1746; drowned in the Piscataqua, 1767.
- 118 Jane, b. Sept. 29, 1748; m. John Appleton, Oct. 6, 1767.
- 119 Aaron, b. Sept. 2, 1749; d. Oct. 19, 1749.
- 120 Susannah, b. Sept. 19, 1750; m. George King Atkinson, May 12, 1771.
- 121 Margaret, b. Oct. 20, 1752.
- 122 Benjamin, } b. June 21, 1754; { d. July 22, 1754.
- 123 ———, } { d. June 21, 1754.
- 124 Mehitable, b. May 20, 1755; d. July 26, 1757.

Rev. John Sparhawk, the father, was pastor of the first church in Salem, Mass., and died, April 30, 1755. Mrs. Jane (Porter) Sparhawk died July 26, 1777. They were married (according to aforesaid memorandum book) "at Major Sewall's house, at Boston." This was her maternal grandfather, a brother of the famous Chief Justice Samuel Sewall.

43 Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son of Rev. John and Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth, only remaining daughter of Sir William and Lady Mary (Hirst) Pepperrell, in Kittery, Maine, June 10, 1742. Their children were :

- 125 William Pepperrell, bapt. July 10, 1743; d. young.
- 126 Nath'l, b. Aug. 1, 1744; bapt. Aug. 19; m., 1st, Cath. Sparhawk; 2nd, Elizabeth Bartlett; 3rd, Deborah Adams, 1786; d. 1815.
- 127 Wm. Pepperrell, bapt. Nov. 30, 1746; m. Eliz. Royall; d. 1816.
- 128 John, bapt. Nov. 27, 1748; d. young.
- 129 Andrew Pepperrell, b. June 3, 1750; m. Miss Turner, Sept. 5, 1775; d. 1783.
- 130 Samuel Hirst, b. 1752; m. in London; d. 1787.
- 131 Mary Pepperrell, b. 1754; m. Chas. Jarvis, M.D.; d. 1815.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was a merchant in Boston at the time of his marriage, but after that he lived in Kittery. (His father-in-law had built there the elegant mansion now known as the "Sparhawk house" for his daughter Madam Sparhawk.) Mr. Sparhawk retained an interest in his business in Boston, and also had commercial interests in Kittery. In his later years he was conspicuous as a Judge and Councillor. The elegant dining hall, in the Sparhawk house, was used as "the Council Chamber," where the Councillors met. This house, now in perfect preservation, is the finest specimen of the architecture of the period (1742) remaining in that vicinity. Of the marriage of Nathaniel Sparhawk and Elizabeth Pepperrell, the Rev. John Sparhawk, in his memorandum book, writes as follows :

"My dear and only brother, Nath'l, was married at Kittery to Miss Elizabeth Pepperrell, the only daughter of the then Hon'ble William Pepperrell, Esq., now Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., on June 10, 1742."

Mrs. Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk was, through her mother, a great granddaughter of the famous Chief

Justice Samuel Sewall, and thus a descendant as well of the Dummers, Hirsts, and many more distinguished families. She carried herself always with a true spirit of nobility. Her last years were spent with her daughter Mrs. Charles Jarvis, in Boston, at which time she was active in all good words and works. She died in Boston in 1797, leaving only her two oldest sons (Nathaniel and William) and her daughter Mrs. Jarvis ;¹ her husband and the others having gone before her.

[*To be continued.*]

¹ See "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis," pp. 428-9.

GENEALOGY OF THE ALLEN FAMILY OF MANCHESTER,
MASS., FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO
THE YEAR 1886.

BY JOHN PRICE.

(Continued from page 312, Vol. XXIV.)

66 Israel⁶ (*Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 14, 1812; married Maria Driver, Sept. 25, 1834. She was born Oct. 27, 1811; died Oct. 2, 1858. He died in California, July 29, 1850.

Children :

- i Maria P., b. June 25, 1835; d. Dec. 25, 1849.
- ii Israel F., b. Dec. 24, 1836; d. June 27, 1846.
- iii David D., b. April 17, 1838; d. Aug. 22, 1839.
- iv David B., b. June 3, 1842; m. Mary E. Edes, Bath, Me., June 15, 1864. She d. Jan. 3, 1869. He m., 2nd, Esther G. Brooks, Feb. 27, 1872.
- v Nathan, b. June 17, 1845; d. Aug. 8, 1846.
- vi Mary B., b. July 25, 1848; unm.

67 John⁶ (*Nehemiah*,⁵ *John*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 14, 1777; married Sally ———, about 1800.

Children :

- i John, b. April 28, 1801.
- ii Benjamin, b. Jan. 29, 1803; m. Esther Caldwell of Ipswich, 1829; d. June 1, 1840.

68 David⁶ (*David*,⁵ *John*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 8, 1780; married Polly Leach, May 19, 1805. She was born April 17, 1784; died Aug. 3, 1814. He died Nov. 16, 1823.

Children :

- i David, b. Sept. 9, 1805; m. Ellen Lefaver of Salem. He d. Oct. 28, 1868.

- ii Mary, b. Oct. 9, 1810; m. Simeon Haskell, jr., Dec. 16, 1831.
- iii Eliza A., b. Feb. 25, 1813; m. Samuel Ayres, Nov. 11, 1832;
d. April 10, 1869.

He married, second, Molly Hassam, April 15, 1817.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

69 Nathaniel M.⁷ (*Samuel*,⁶ *Ambrose*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 3, 1767; married Elizabeth Lee, Dec. 10, 1789; she was born Nov. 10, 1766; died Feb. 28, 1847, aged 85. He died Jan. 31, 1855, aged 87.

Children :

- i Sarah, b. Feb. 22, 1791; m. Samuel Collins of New York.
- ii Elizabeth, b. Jan. 22, 1793; d. June 20, 1887, æ. 94 yrs. 4 mos., 28 days; unm.
- iii Nathaniel, b. May 14, 1795; d. Sept. 7, 1814.
- 99 iv Samuel, b. Feb. 7, 1799.
- v Lydia, b. Dec. 18, 1801; d. April —, 1818.
- 100 vi Benjamin, b. April 8, 1802.

70 William⁷ (*William*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 11, 1785; married Harriet P. Lee, March 19, 1815. She was born May 20, 1795; died May 16, 1844. He died May 25, 1862.

Children :

- i Harriet L., b. Mar. 28, 1816; d. May 3, 1819.
- ii William H., b. July 14, 1818; d. Dec. 7, 1886.
- iii Charlotte P., b. Mar. 8, 1826; m. Jonathan S. Dodge, May 3, 1847.
- iv Edward P., b. Sept. 8, 1830; d. June 20, 1863.
- v George F., b. Oct. 21, 1840.

71 Thomas L.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 13, 1791; married Mary Hill, Aug. 24, 1817. She was born June 7, 1797; died——, 1819; and he married, second, Lavinia Baker, Oct. 15, 1820.

Children :

- i Ann Maria, b. Aug. 28, 1821; d. July 12, 1834.
- ii Edward F., b. Aug. 19, 1823; d. Nov. 29, 1826.
- iii Charlotte P., b. Aug. 16, 1825; d. Sept. —, 1825.

His second wife Lavinia was born Dec. 21, 1800; died Oct. 16, 1828; and he married, third, Anna Baker (a sister), Jan. 3, 1830. She died Dec. 20, 1880, aged 81. He died Mar. 18, 1851.

72 John W.⁷ (*John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Aug. 5, 1781; married Joanna Girdler, Oct. 12, 1805. She was born Oct. 20, 1784, and died May 18, 1865, aged 80. He died Aug. 4, 1847.

Children :

- i Joanna G., b. June 30, 1810; m. Ezra Perkins of Essex, Oct. 27, 1831.
- ii John W. G., b. Feb. 12, 1813; m. Susan H. Leach, July 17, 1837. He was lost at sea, April 22, 1838.
- iii Elizabeth G., b. Nov. 20, 1814; d. Dec. 23, 1833.
- iv Augusta E., b. Dec. 10, 1816; m. Alfred Annable, July 16, 1839. She died March 14, 1888.
- v John W., b. July 10, 1821; m. Lucy Cody, Nov. 17, 1876.

John W. took an active part in town affairs; was one of the selectmen from 1832 to 1837, 1854, and was representative in 1830 and 1831.

73 James⁷ (*John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Sept. 18, 1786; married Lydia Girdler, Mar. 26, 1812. She was born July 30, 1790; died Dec. 29, 1852. He died at sea, June 27, 1833.

Children :

- 101 i James G., b. May 26, 1813.
- ii Lydia G., b. May 26, 1816; m. Andrew Marsters, Sept. 6, 1837; d. Mar. 23, 1852.
- iii Lewis E., b. Sept. 19, 1819; d. —.
- iv Caroline F., b. April 9, 1825; m. John C. Felker.
- v Frances, b. —, 1828; d. Dec. 30, 1833.

74 Samuel⁷ (*John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Mar. 20, 1791; married Mary Girdler, May 21, 1816. She was born June 16, 1792; died Mar. 16, 1833.

Children :

- i Mary G., b. Mar. 2, 1817; m. George A. Brown, Jan. 16, 1840; d. Oct. 27, 1850.
- ii Samuel E., b. Nov. 16, 1821; d. Nov. 28, 1850; unkm.
- iii John H., b. Mar. 1, 1826; d. June 2, 1849; unkm.
- iv Delia M., b. Oct. 13, 1827; d. Dec. 22, 1832.

Samuel married, second, his brother's widow, Lydia Allen, Feb. 16, 1834. He died July 3, 1843.

75 Daniel⁷ (*John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born May 27, 1796; married Mehitabel Allen, Dec. 23, 1824. She was born May 30, 1799; died Dec. 22, 1879. He died Aug. 8, 1830.

Child :

- i Hittie Ann, b. Mar. 4, 1827; m. Henry S. Chase; d. Jan. 31, 1855.

76 Stephen B.⁷ (*Stephen,⁶ Stephen,⁵ Stephen,⁴ Benjamin,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born July 7, 1828; married Sabra A. Cross, Nov. 28, 1848. She was born in Beverly, Dec. 6, 1831.

Children :

- i Lucretia A., b. Jan. 1, 1849; d. Oct. 4, 1851.
- ii Mary A., b. Sept. 2, 1850; d. Oct. 17, 1851.
- iii Mary A. E., b. Sept. 28, 1852; d. Nov. 14, 1861.
- iv Hermon L., b. July 29, 1854.
- v Charles A., b. Dec. 2, 1856; d. June 16, 1861.
- vi Emma F., b. Feb. 20, 1859.
- vii Caroline E., b. Jan. 2, 1861.
- viii Lillian B., b. Oct. 6, 1866.
- ix Walter B., b. May 22, 1868.
- x Ernest E., b. Oct. 10, 1870.
- xi Stephen A., b. Mar. 11, 1872.

77 John R.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 31, 1829; married Abbie C. Prescott, Mar. 27, 1856. She was born Feb. 21, 1837.

Children :

- i John F., b. Jan. 5, 1857.
- ii Edith K., b. Sept. 20, 1859; m. Harlan G. Morgan, Feb. 3, 1881.
- iii Elbridge E., b. Sept. 7, 1864.
- iv George A., b. Jan. 9, 1867; d. Aug. 21, 1869.

78 George⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 20, 1833; married Louisa Morse, June 1, 1872. She was born Jan. 15, 1844; died April 24, 1880.

Children :

- i Alice L., b. Sept. 2, 1873.
- ii George W., b. Sept. 20, 1875; d. May 1, 1877.
- iii Infant dau., b. Oct. 31, 1876; died same day.
- iv Charles W., b. April 12, 1880; d. Sept. 20, 1880.

79 Elbridge⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born April 5, 1835; married Caroline M. Allen, June 4, 1873. She was born Sept. 13, 1844.

Children :

- i Infant son, b. April 5, 1874; d. April 14, 1874.
- ii Clinton D., b. April 12, 1875.
- iii Arthur D., b. Sept. 13, 1877.
- iv Ella W., b. Sept. 1, 1886.

80 Rodney C.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 17, 1847; married Jennie M. Carter, May 28, 1881. She was born Jan. 19, 1848. No children.

81 Joseph⁷ (*Jonathan*,⁶ *Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 16, 1789; married

Mary Cheever, Mar. 24, 1814. She was born June 19, 1790; died May 27, 1832.

Children :

- i Joseph, b. Dec. 30, 1814; d. Feb. 7, 1824.
- ii John C., b. Mar. 24, 1817; d. Aug. 17, 1878; unm.
- iii Mary A., b. Dec. 23, 1820; m. Jeremiah Danforth, Nov. 3, 1838. She died June 15, 1876.
- iv Sarah E., b. Sept. 16, 1825; m. J. Radford Lord, May 3, 1847.

He married, second, Mehitable Allen, widow of Daniel, July 4, 1832.

Children :

- v Eliza A., b. July 27, 1833; m. John E. Smith, Nov. 5, 1854, who was killed in a steam-mill in Boston, July 29, 1863. She m. 2nd, Julius F. Rabardy, Aug. 6, 1868.
- vi Jacob H., b. Nov. 6, 1834; m. Nellie B. Nye of Boston, Mar. 9, 1884. He died Sept. 17, 1887.
- vii Emily P., } twins; { m. Geo. W. Jewett Dec. 4, 1866.
- viii Elizabeth P., } b. Apr. 2, 1843. }

Captain Allen died Feb. 5, 1875, aged 86. His second wife Mehitable died Dec. 22, 1879, aged 80.

82 John A.⁷ (*Daniel*,⁶ *Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 5, 1817; married Mary A. Crafts, Feb. 29, 1844. She was born Dec. 10, 1820; died Nov. 29, 1845.

Child :

- i Mary V., b. Oct. 11, 1845; d. at St. Louis, Mo., May 6, 1866.

His first wife dying, he married, second, Jane E. White, Aug. 30, 1849. He died June 29, 1884, in St. Louis, Mo.

Children born in St. Louis, Mo. :

- ii Arthur W., b. Nov. 27, 1851; m. Mary I. Baker, July 11, 1876. Their child was Arthur G., b. Aug. 1, 1877.
- iii Charles C., b. July 25, 1855.

83 Abner⁷ (*Abner*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 24, 1792; married Betsey Tuck, Oct. 19, 1818. She was born Mar. 5, 1797; died Dec. 26, 1832. He died Jan. 12, 1867.

Children :

- i John A., b. Dec. 14, 1821; m. Sarah Jewett.
- ii Eliza, b. Oct. 6, 1823; m. John Pollard.
- iii Lydia L., b. May 2, 1825; m. Wm. Jewett.
- iv Edward L., b. June 25, 1828; m. Sarah Dudley.

84 Azariah⁷ (*Abner*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 25, 1796; m. Sally Russell, Sept. 14, 1824. She was born Mar. 8, 1805. He died Jan. 4, 1873.

Children :

- i Sarah R., b. June 27, 1825; d. Sept. 19, 1886; unm.
- ii Caroline, b. Feb. 17, 1829; m. Nathan Richardson, May 15, 1849.
- iii George W., b. July 11, 1831; d. June 14, 1885; unm.
- iv Isaac F., b. Dec. 27, 1836; killed in battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.
- v Wililam H., b. July 31, 1842; d. in Belle Isle Prison, 1863.
- vi Josephine, b. July 15, 1848; m. Jacob Orne.

85 Henry P.⁷ (*Richard*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 14, 1807; married Mary E. Potter of Hamilton, Oct. 1, 1844. She was born Jan. 3, 1819; died Sept. 22, 1869. He died April 2, 1885, aged 77.

Children :

- i Harriet P., b. May 28, 1846.
- ii Susan D., b. Dec. 22, 1847; d. June 1, 1850.

He was one of the selectmen from 1844 to 1847.

86 Samuel P.⁷ (*Richard*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 19, 1811; married Elizabeth Knight, June 1, 1837. She was born Dec. 17, 1815. He died Feb. 22, 1882. She died Dec. 22, 1883

Children :

- i Elizabeth H., b. Sept. 4, 1838; m. Wm. A. Stone, Sept. 28, 1865. She died Mar. —, 1883.
- ii Reyanna P., b. July 15, 1842; d. April 11, 1847.
- iii Mary A., b. Feb. 12, 1845.
- iv Samuel P., b. April 22, 1847; d. Mar. 31, 1851.
- v Reyanna P., b. Dec. 30, 1849; d. June 17, 1855.
- vi Hattie K., b. April 11, 1852; m. Edward Flint, Dec. 17, 1874.

87 Benjamin L.⁷ (*John*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 7, 1803; married Hannah L. Foster, Aug. 26, 1824. She was born Jan. 17, 1805. He died Sept. 24, 1865.

Child :

- i Hannah L., b. April 2, 1826; d. June 10, 1827.

88 Isaac⁷ (*John*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 11, 1805; married Harriet Osborne of Salem, July 28, 1836. She was born Feb. 22, 1800. She died Aug. 4, 1886, aged 86. He died April 27, 1879.

Children :

- i Hannah L., b. May 1, 1837.
- ii Harriet E., b. Sept. 1, 1838; m. S. H. Johnson of Swampscott.

102 iii John, b. Oct. 12, 1840.

89 William H.⁷ (*Aaron*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 21, 1803; married Susan Poland of Hamilton, May 8, 1845. She was born April 5, 1811, and died July 14, 1883. He died Aug. 25, 1875.

Child :

- 103 i William H., jr., b. Dec. 5, 1848; m. Mary F. Gilson, Dec. 5, 1869.

90 Hannah E. (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born in Manchester, Sept. 19, 1791; died in Salem Sept. 10, 1816; married April 10, 1811, Henry Allen son of Edward Allen; * died Oct. 15, 1818, aged 28.

* Capt. Edward Allen came to America from Berwick on the Tweed in 1757 and settled in Salem, where he became a distinguished and successful merchant in the India and some of the other trades that flourished at that time in Salem. In 1759, he married Ruth, the widow of Israel Gardner and daughter of Gamaliel Hodges; married, secondly, Margaret Lockhart of Wilmington, N. C. He died July 27, 1803, aged 68, and his wife Margaret, Aug. 14, 1808, aged 54 (see Hist. Coll. E. I., Vol. IV, p. 76).

Children :

- i William Henry, born in Salem Nov. 17, 1811; married Ellen Sophia, daughter of George and Alicia (Burrill) Ward, b. Nov. 14, 1814. After the death of Capt. Allen, which occurred in the Straits of Basilan, then master of ship Hamilton, June 4, 1848, she married, 2nd, G. L. Chandler, an artist of Salem who died May 27, 1883.
- ii Margaret Lockhart, b. in Salem July 21, 1813; m. Wm. A. Davis of Salem, Jan. 29, 1838, moved to Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1841, where she died Nov. 5, 1886.

91 William E.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born in Salem, July 10, 1806; died at Gambia, Africa, Nov. 7, 1837, married Sarah H. Wright. She was born Feb. 11, 1805.

Children :

- 104 i Charles H., b. March 26, 1830.
- 105 ii William E., b. Aug. 30, 1833.

92 Charles H.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born July 31, 1810; married Mary P. Wright, April 7, 1836, who was born Dec. 18, 1809.

Children :

- 106 i George H., b. Jan. 15, 1838.
- ii Mary Louisa, b. Feb. 29, 1840; d. Jan. 24, 1841.
- 107 iii Charles Franklin, b. Sept. 10, 1842.
- iv Mary Anna, b. Jan. 13, 1847; d. April 15, 1848.
- v Margaret Lockhart, b. Feb. 10, 1849.

93 George F.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Jan. 2, 1813; married Laura Sprague, daughter of Joseph and Lucretia (Ward) Sprague; died at sea, lost from ship "Celestial," Nov. 8, 1852.

Children :

- i Mary Osgood, b. Oct., 1851.
- ii

94 Jacob A.⁷ (*Jacob*,⁶ *Isaac*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Sam-*

uel,² William¹) born Mar. 5, 1810; married Prudence Hyer of Middlebury, Vt., ———, 1825. She was born Nov. 5, 1805; died Sept. 21, 1879. He died Aug. 27, 1871, from the Revere accident.

Children :

- i Lucy Amanda, b. June 2, 1827.
- ii Charles A., b. Aug. 25, 1829; d. Sept. 25, 1867.
- iii Seth D., b. April 14, 1831.
- iv Ellen A., b. Aug. 2, 1833.
- v Almina R., b. Mar. 2, 1836.
- vi Milo S., b. June 21, 1838.
- vii George H., b. June 21, 1840.
- viii Isaac A., b. Aug. 14, 1842.

95 Enos G.⁷ (*Jacob*,⁶ *Isaac*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 16, 1815; married Lydia A. Carter, April 14, 1836. She was born Sept. 27, 1816; died Sept. 16, 1882. He died May 18, 1877.

Child :

- i Henry O., b. Nov. 1, 1837; m. ———. He d. Sept. 9, 1885, æ. 48.

96 George F.⁷ (*Nathan*,⁶ *Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 10, 1826; married Arabella McCollom of New Boston, N. H., June 16, 1855. She was born Aug. 27, 1827.

Child :

- i Matty F., b. Mar. 30, 1858; d. Sept. 6, 1858.

George F. has always been much interested in the municipal affairs of the town, and was one of the selectmen for the years 1863 to 1867, inclusive, town clerk 1858, and has held several other offices of the town at various times as well as of the parish.

97 John P., jr.⁷ (*John P.*,⁶ *Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 11, 1823; married

Irene P. Johnson, Sept. 16, 1856. She was born Mar. 16, 1837.

Children :

- i Charles P., b. Sept. 28, 1857; lost at sea, Sept., 1877.
- ii Harry E., b. Nov. 13, 1858.
- iii Richard J., b. Oct. 28, 1860.
- iv John P., jr., b. Mar. 5, 1862.
- v Edward F., b. Dec. 30, 1872; d. April 16, 1873.
- vi Benjamin L., b. Feb. 14, 1875.

98 Edward F.⁷ (*John P.⁶ Nathan,⁵ Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Jan. 30, 1827; married Ann Amelia Knight, Sept. 7, 1849. She was born Mar. 31, 1831. He died in Belle Isle Prison, Va., Dec. 5, 1863.

Child :

- i Edward H., b. June 6, 1850; d. Sept. 28, 1851.

EIGHTH GENERATION.

99 Samuel⁸ (*Nath'l M.,⁷ Samuel,⁶ Ambrose,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Feb. 7, 1799; married Nabby Smith of Beverly ———. She was born May 24, 1804. He died May 24, 1874, aged 75 years.

Children :

- i Elizabeth, b. Aug. 6, 1829; m. Henry Woodbury of Beverly, May 15, 1849.
- ii Mary T., b. in Beverly, Jan. 26, 1831; m. George Woodbury, of Beverly, May 30, 1851.
- iii Sarah M., b. in Beverly, Dec. 5, 1833; d. Dec. 11, 1860; unm.
- iv Abby S., b. Feb. 9, 1835; m. Dea. Joseph Baker, Aug. 17, 1858.
- v Lydia, b. Mar. 24, 1837; m. Phineas Purrington of Shrewsbury, Oct. 28, 1860.
- vi Augusta, } twins; { b. Sept. 4, 1839; m. Wm. S. Crafts, Jan. 8, 1858.
- vii Louisa, } { b. Sept. 4, 1839; m. Charles Thomas.
- viii Eveline, b. Jan. 4, 1842; m. Leonard Wilson of Kittery, Me., d. Oct. 3, 1866.

ix Samuel, b. April 21, 1844; m. Frank Howe of Stirling.

x Susan, b. Sept. 6, 1847.

100 Benjamin⁸ (*Nath'l M.,⁷ Samuel,⁶ Ambrose,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born April 8, 1802; married Esther W. Caldwell of Ipswich. She was born Jan. 10, 1805; died April 14, 1869. He died Mar. 12, 1872.

Children :

i Benjamin, b. Nov. 5, 1829; m. Anna R. Osgood of Peabody. He was a member of Co. F, Eleventh Reg., Mass. Volunteers; and d. in the war, at Washington, Aug. 29, 1864.

ii Sarah E., b. ———.

iii Lydia A., b. ———.

iv Abby G., b. ———.

v Emma, b. ———.

vi Eliza G., b. ———.

vii Caroline M., b. Sept. 13, 1844; m. Elbridge Allen, June 4, 1873.

101 James G⁸ (*James,⁷ John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born May 26, 1813; married Hannah Leach, June 18, 1835. She was born Aug. 25, 1810; died Sept. 18, 1876. He died at sea, Nov. 30, 1856. She died Sept. 18, 1876.

Children :

i Delia F., b. July 15, 1836; d. Sept. 18, 1867, unm.

ii Hannah L., b. Jan. 10, 1837; d. Nov. 10, 1837.

iii Horatio, b. Aug. 24, 1844; lost at sea.

iv Hannah L., b. Dec. 29, 1846; d. Jan. 28, 1849.

v Kate H., b. April 29, 1851; m. Judge Robert B. Archibald of Florida.

102 John⁸ (*Isaac,⁷ John,⁶ Azariah,⁵ Azariah,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Oct. 12, 1840; married Eveline F. Hooper, Sept. 21, 1871. She was born Oct. 1, 1847.

Children :

i Eva, b. July 12, 1872.

ii Benjamin L., b. Jan. 3, 1874.

- iii Grace H., b. May 15, 1875.
- iv John I., b. May 14, 1879.
- v Henry O., b. Nov. 29, 1880.
- vi Everett, b. June 11, 1883.
- vii Elizabeth L., b. July 15, 1885.
- viii Bertram W., b. Mar. 4, 1887.

103 William H., jr.⁸ (*William H.*,⁷ *Aaron*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 5, 1848; married Mary F. Gilson, Dec. 5, 1869. She was born Oct. 8, 1846.

Children :

- i Richard C., b. Mar. 18, 1871; d. Feb. 14, 1877.
- ii Raymond C., b. Aug. 28, 1877.
- iii Susan W., b. Feb. 17, 1880.
- iv Marion C., b. Jan. 13, 1885.

104 Charles H.⁸. (*William E.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born March 26, 1830; married Margaret Eleanor McKenzie, April 10, 1856, who was born Oct. 12, 1833.

Children :

- i Margaret Eleanor, b. Jan. 10, 1857.
- ii Mary Francis, b. March 15, 1860.
- iii Charles Augustus, b. Feb. 13, 1862; d. Sept. —, 1862.
- iv Lillian Hutchinson, b. June 13, 1865.
- v Charles Frederick, April 8, 1868.

105 William E.,⁸ (*William E.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*,¹) born August 30, 1833; married Mary E. Noah, May 16, 1861, who was born Feb. 15, 1834.

Children :

- i Sadie L., b. Nov. 15, 1868; d. Dec. 29, 1871.

106 George H.⁸ (*Charles H.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*,¹) born Jan. 15, 1838;

married Caroline W. Ashby, October 22, 1862 (who was born June 10, 1840).

Children :

- i George Lockhart, b. Jan. 27, 1865.
- ii Caroline Lockhart, b. June 15, 1870.

107 Charles Franklin⁸ (*Charles H.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) married Henrietta E. Pond, May 3, 1871, at St. Louis, Mo. ; resides in St. Louis, Mo.

Children :

- i George Franklin, b. April 26, 1873, at St. Louis.
- ii Walter Lockhart, b. Oct. 28, 1875, at St. Louis.
- iii Mary Penniman, b. Nov. 24, 1876, at St. Louis.

Others of the name of Allen residing in Manchester, but not of the branch of William, but probably of a brother.

Nathaniel^{5*} (*William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) born in Gloucester (where his ancestors were, if we except Joseph), Oct. 31, 1759 ; married Anna Dodge of Manchester, Nov. 12, 1786. She was born May 20, 1767 ; died Oct. 16, 1835, aged 68. He died Sept. 10, 1843, aged 83.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i William, b. April 11, 1787 ; d. Sept. 10, 1794.
- ii Anna, b. Nov. 9, 1788 ; d. May 20, 1795.
- iii Nathaniel, jr., b. Aug. 15, 1790 ; m. Anna Miller, Jan. 23, 1812. She was b. Aug. 4, 1790. He d. in Genoa, Italy,

* Nathaniel⁵ was the person from Manchester who was cast away and who lived on the wreck of the vessel nine months before he was rescued and returned to the bosom of his family.

Dec. 24, 1822. She m. 2nd, William Burnham of Beverly, April 13, 1828, and she d. in Manchester, June 22, 1881, in her 91st year.

- iv Sally, } twins; { b. Sept. 21, 1792; d. Sept. 20, 1793.
- v Hannah, } { b. Sept. 21, 1792; d. Oct. 4, 1793.
- vi Sally, b. April 14, 1794; d. Dec. 20, 1796.
- vii Anna, b. May 9, 1796; m. Arthur Story, Sept. 19, 1822; d. Nov. 10, 1872.
- viii John, b. April 6, 1799; m. Betsey Witham, June —, 1822; d. July 2, 1880.
- ix William, b. Aug. 18, 1800; d. Dec. 31, 1804.
- x Hannah, b. Mar. 22, 1803; m. David Colby, June 14, 1840; d. Nov. 20, 1886.
- xi David, b. Feb. 12, 1805; m. Susan W. Story of Goffstown, July 20, 1828.
- xii Harriet, b. Dec. 14, 1807; m. Matthew Giles of Rockport, May 31, 1831. She d. Oct. 29, 1878.
- xiii Luther, b. Feb. 2, 1809.
- xiv William H., b. June 10, 1812; d. Mar. 24, 1814.

Luther⁶ (*Nathaniel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) married Jennette L. Mann, Aug. 29, 1829. She was born April 17, 1809.

Children :

- i Luther F., b. July 15, 1832.
- ii Joann L., b. Nov. 24, 1834; m. Capt. Nehemiah D. Cunningham of Gloucester, Oct. 22, 1874.
- iii Frederic, b. Sept. 28, 1836; m. Hannah M. Elwell of Gloucester, Dec. 25, 1861, and resides there.
- iv Nathaniel, b. Oct. 13, 1839; d. Sept. 21, 1840.
- v Caroline M., b. June 3, 1842; m. Thomas Carlton of Littleton, N. H., Mar. 6, 1873; d. Oct. 16, 1874.
- vi Benjamin L., b. July 20, 1845.

Luther has always taken an interest in the affairs of the town; was selectman in 1849, 1850, representative, 1858.

Luther F.⁷ (*Luther*,⁶ *Nathaniel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) born July 15, 1832; married Susan E. Andrews of Essex, Oct. 18, 1856. She was born Nov. 23, 1833.

Children :

- i Hubert Grey, b. Nov. 27, 1858 ; d. Feb. 3, 1861.
- ii Ralph W., b. Jan. 3, 1862.
- iii Carrie Edith, b. Nov. 5, 1876.

Thomas (an Englishman) came from England when about fourteen years old and lived with Geofford Goldsmith during his minority. He was born March 20, 1784 ; married Abigail Goldsmith, daughter of Geofford, July 22, 1811. She was born Jan. 29, 1781 ; died Feb. 17, 1873, aged 92. He died Oct. 23, 1846.

Children :

- i Abigail, b. Oct. 16, 1812 ; m. Merrett Lennon, Dec. 8, 1833.
- ii Lucy G., b. Dec. 28, 1813 ; m. John Clark of Gloucester.
- iii Thomas, b. Oct. 23, 1815 ; unm.
- iv Hannah P., b. Sept. 13, 1817 ; m. John C. Knowlton, Mar. 19, 1838.
- v Mehitable G., b. May 26, 1819 ; m. Gorham Parsons, jr. July 23, 1836.
- vi David G., b. July 8, 1821 ; m. Sarah Brown of Nova Scotia.
- vii Abraham, b. Sept. 16, 1825 ; d. Dec. 8, 1843.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT SAUGUS CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

It will be well for those who are searching the Lynn records for genealogical information to remember that many of the Lynn families therere presented were residents of what is now the town of Saugus, once the third parish of Lynn, and that these inscriptions are of interest as relating to the early history of those Lynn families.

A few rods northerly from the railroad station at Saugus Centre, the highway is divided, one part leading directly to the woolen mills situated at the head of tide water on Saugus river, the other part turning abruptly to the westward and leading towards Wakefield and Melrose. At this corner of the highways is the old burying ground of the third parish of Lynn.

The meeting house was built in 1737 on land given by William Taylor for the purpose; the spot where it was built is now the village square or common and this burial ground is a part of the land included in that gift. Without doubt it was first used for burial purposes shortly after the date of the conveyance for parish uses. The oldest inscription found bears date of 1741. Previously all the interments for the town of Lynn had been made in the old ground at the westerly end of Lynn Common.

The town of Saugus, or what is now so called, was made a separate parish January 27, 1749-50, and set off from Lynn and incorporated as a town February 17, 1815.

There is but one other Cemetery in the town, and this is situated southerly from the railroad station, on the way to East Saugus. It is the one now in common use.

Young men too must die.

Sacred to the memory of Lemuel Allen, only son of Mr. Lemuel & Mrs. Mary Allen, who died Sept. 22, 1793, Æt. 17 years.

The dear delights we here enjoy
We fondly call our own,
Are but short favors borrowed now
To be repaid again.

Charles F. Alden, died Aug. 14, 1848, aged 22 yrs. & 7 mos.

George W. Alden, Co. C, 35th Mass. Regt., killed at battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862, aged 34 years.

He early called, tho' hearts were riven
And fond hopes torn away :
He had his place prepared in heaven
And might no longer stay.
In heaven we meet him—not as here
Where sin and sorrow reign :
There—where are smiles without a tear,
There shall we meet again.

Ruth, wife of John H. Alden, died Oct. 20, 1852, aged 29 years.

Betsey, wife of John Alden, died Jan. 17, 1871, aged 4 years, 4 mos.

Joseph W., died Sept. 20, 1835, æ. 4 yrs. 5 mos.

Merinda Ann, died Mch. 24, 1837, æ. 2 yrs. 2 days.

Children of John & Elizabeth Alden.

In memory of Mrs. Mary M. Brackett, wife of Mr. Rufus Brackett, who died July 1, 1814, Æt. 21.

Consuming sickness spoiled her lovely form,
And death resign'd her to the kindred worm.
The day approaches when the Saints shall rise
In glorious triumph and ascend the skies.

In memory of Miss Hannah, daughter of Mr. John & Mrs. Jane Ballard who died Nov. 2, 1826, Æt. 43 years.

I leave the world without a tear
Save for the friends I hold so dear:
To heal their sorrows, Lord, descend,
And to the mourning prove a friend.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Mary Boardman, who died Sept. 14, 1805. Aged 73 years.

Our life is ever on the wing
And death is ever nigh;
The moment when our lives begin,
We all begin to die.

This humble monument is inscribed to the memory of a beloved father, a respected citizen & an honest man: Mr. Ezra Brown, who died Feby. 19th, 1829, Æ. 78 yrs.

He proved what virtue was & now his Lord
Has shown to him how well he can reward.

In memory of Mary, wife of Ezra Brown, who died Sept. 6, 1849, æt. 86.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Aaron Boardman, who died Nov. 11, 1799. Aged 74 years.

The waves of trouble, how they rise,
How loud the tempests roar:
But death shall land our weary souls
Safe on the heavenly shore.

Mr. John Burrage Boardman, died April 24, 1803,
Ætat. 23.

When blooming youth is snatched away
By death's resistless hand,
Our hearts the mournful tribute pay
What pity must demand.

Here lyes buried ye body of Mr. William Bordman
who departed this life Oct. y^e 10 A. D. 1753, in y^e 68th
year of his age.

In memory of William Boardman who died Nov. 6,
1847. aged 75 yrs & 6 mos.

Cut down & withered in an hour
Thy soul has fled to worlds above.
Beneath this stone in death's embrace
Thy body finds a resting place.

In memory of Mr. Ebenezer Boardman, who died Oct.
25, 1845. aged 35 years.

O monster death, why hast thou called away
A brother and a son from life's glad day?
In vain we ask, but hope points us above
Where we shall share with him God's endless love.

In memory of Mr. Samuel Bridden who died March 9,
810. aged 65 years.

Andrew W. son of Andrew & Sarah B. Buzzell died
May 25, 1842. Aged 2 years, 8 mos & 12 days.

In memory of Miss Mary Brown who died July 14,
841. aged 74 years.

'Tis finished: the conflict is past
The immortal spirit is fled:
Her work is accomplished at last,
And now she's entombed with the dead.

In memory of Nancy wife of James Breirley, died May

3, 1836 aged 43 years. Also Alice their daughter, died Aug. 28, 1841 aged 28 years.

James Breirley died June 17, 1867. *Æt.* 73 yrs.

In memory of Nancy Copp, wife of Samuel Copp, Obt. June 10th, 1805. *Æt.* 20.

Adieu! thou dear departed soul,
Thou go'st from hence to Christ above,
There to partake of endless bliss
And celebrate redeeming love.
We mourn thy sudden, swift remove
From each and all enjoyment here;
When Christ commands we must obey
Without a murmur or a tear.

Sacred to the memory of David Capen, who died Feby. 2, 1850. *Æt.* 68.

Sacred to the memory of Lucy wife of David Capen who died June 26, 1847. *Æt.* 70.

In memory of Thomas G. Capen, son of David and Lucy Capen, who died July 3, 1836. *Æt.* 27.

Yes, thou hast gone! we feel thy loss
But know that this is gain to thee:
For earth indeed was counted dross
Compar'd with Heaven eternally.

Thomas G. Capen, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Capen, died Sept. 18, 1837, *æt.* 15 ms.

In memory of Miss Ruth Coats, ob. Sept. 11, 1800, aged 20 years.

Farewell, bright soul, a short farewell,
Till we shall meet again above,
In the sweet groves where pleasures dwell
And trees of life bear fruits of love.

In memory of Philena Clarke, dau. of David and Harriet Atherton, died March 18, 1839, aged 3 months & 6 days.

Sleep on dear babe and take thy rest
God called thee home, he thought it best.

Erected to the memory of Abner Cheever, Esq., ætat. 72. Died April 22, 1796.

Zelute B. Cheever, died May 11, 1873, Æt. 76 years, 7 mos.

Nearer my God to thee
Nearer to Thee.

Sacred to the memory of Ezekiel Cheever, who died April 23, 1810, Æt. 43.

Hark! he bids all his friends adieu,
Some angel calls him to the spheres;
Our eyes the radiant soul pursue
Through liquid telescopes of tears.

Rachel Cheever, wife of Ezekiel Cheever, died March 31, 1855, aged 82 years.

Mother, we bid thee an affectionate earthly farewell.

In memory of Miss Rachel Cheever, who died April 8, 1818, aged 20 years.

Thy sister shall rise again.

In memory of Miss Lydia Danforth, daughter of Mr. Joseph and Mrs. Lydia Danforth, who died Nov. 3^d, 1805, in the 21st year of her age.

In memory of Mr. Abijah Draper, who died Dec. 21, 1828. Æt. 25. And by his side an Infant son who died April 24, 1829. Æt. 5 months.

His works are ended and he rewarded.

In memory of Samuel Worcester, son of Mr. Joseph

and Mrs. Sally Dampney : who died July 22, 1823. Æt.
1 year, 10 mos. and 2 days.

Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest,
God called thee home, he thought it best.

In memory of Joshua Danforth who died Feby. 3, 1834,
in the 80th year of his age. A soldier of the Revolution.

My children dear this place draw near
A father's grave to see :
Not long ago I was with you,
And soon you'll be with me.

In memory of Lydia widow of Joshua Danforth, who
died May 8, 1845, aged 82 years.

Earth with all thy loveliness,
Friends, connections, all farewell;
Lovelier beauties, dearer friends
In my Father's mansions dwell.

Sacred to the memory of Hannah wife of Thomas Fel-
ton, who died Aug. 19, 1838. Aged 39 years.

Lord, she was thine if not my own,
Thou hast not done me wrong :
I thank thee for the precious loan
Afforded me so long.
Go mourning friends, dry up thy tears,
No cause of grief is needful here :
There's naught but dust beneath this sod,
The soul we trust is with its God.

In memory of Miss Mary Floyd, daughter of Mr. Dan-
iel and Mrs. Mary Floyd, who departed this life Oct.
27th, 1805, aged 20 years.

Friends nor physicians could not save
My mortal Body from the grave;
Nor shall the Grave confine me here
When my dear Savior shall appear.

In memory of Mr. Thomas Floyd, died Sept. 17, 1839.

Æ. 61. Also, Mrs. Sarah his wife, died Feb. 4, 1844 Æ. 61.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

In memory of Noah Fernald, who died April 9, 1831, aged 37 years.

Also, Lydia S. wife of Noah Fernald, died Dec^r. 27, 1842, Aged 52 years.

Angelina Fernald, died July 23, 1835. Aged 13 years.

Monument in an inclosure with "Feltons, 1850," on fence.

Cornelius Conway Felton, died July 23, 1849, aged 65 years.

Mrs. Anna Morse Felton, died Dec. 27, 1824, aged 42 years.

John Brooks Felton, died April 24, 1826, aged 6 years.

Anna Morse Felton, died Feby. 27, 1832, aged 14½ yrs.

George Edwin Felton, died May 8, 1834, aged 3 yrs.

Mrs. Lucy Torrey Felton, died Nov. 25, 1835, aged 41 yrs.

"A new world has begun."

In memory of Mary Brackett daughter of Joseph G. and Mrs. Hannah Goldthwait, who died Nov. 2, 1828. Aet. 1 year and 4 mos.

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Grover, who departed this life Dec. 16, 1837, in the 61st year of her age.

Sleep on dear friend, thy work is done
God called thee home, thy victory's won.

The wife of Mr. Asa Grover.

In memory of Miss Mehitable, daughter of Asa and Elizabeth Grover, died Dec. 10, 1840, in the 45 year of her age.

(Double Stone.)

In memory of Abigail Hitchings, who died Feb. 28, 1819, aged 82 years.

Nathan Hitchings, who died, Oct. 23, 1821, aged 82 years. A revolutionary soldier.

In memory of Edward Hone, who died Oct. 23, 1846, aged 76 years and 6 mos.

Tis but a few whose days amount
To threescore years and ten;
And all beyond that short account
Is sorrow, toil and pain.

Lydia, widow of Edward Hone, died Feby. 6, 1857. aged 79 years & 3 mos.

Mother, dear mother what words in our ear:
It is useless to call them, thou canst not be here,
Alas, thou hast left us, we cannot tell why,
For a world that is better, above in the sky.

How oft do we think of thy looks and thy form,
And a voice that has kept us from danger and harm;
The hand that has helped us thro' sickness and pain;
But thy face dearest mother, we can neer see again.

This humble stone is erected in memory of Mrs. Lydia Howard, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Howard, who died Dec. 1, 1801, aged 25 years.¹

Mr. Asahel Hitchings, died Oct. 19, 1853, aged 76 years.

Mrs. Eunice Hawks, died April 26, 1853, aged 87 years.

¹ Verses illegible.

Daniel Hawkes, died May 13, 1847, aged 69 years.

We laid you in the grave Father,
Away from every care :
May your silent rest be peaceful
As you slumber, loved one, there.

Rachel, wife of Daniel Hawkes, died Jany. 29, 1863,
aged 77 years, 9 mos.

Though silent in death
She speaks to us yet ;
Our mother in heaven
We never forget.

In memory of Nathan Hawkes, who died Oct. 17, 1824,
aged 79 years.

"Neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels :
and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

In memory of Sarah, wife of Nathan Hawkes, who died
Dec. 19. 1837, aged 87 years.

"Marvel not at this for the day is coming in the which all that are
in the grave shall hear his voice."

Sacred to the memory of Miss Rachel Hawkes, who
died April 22, 1833, aged 25 years.

Tho' cold in dust the perished heart may lie,
The spark that warmed it once shall never die :
That shall resist the triumph of decay
When time is o'er and worlds have passed away.

Sacred to the memory of James Howlett, who died Sept.
19, 1835, aged 62 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Howlett, who
died Aug. 1, 1843, aged 64 years.

Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Deacon Joseph Hauen
who departed this life March 14th Anno Domⁿⁱ 1749, in y^e
69th year of his age.

Here lyes buried y^e body of Mr. Samuel Jencks who died March 16 A. D. 1745, aged 58 years, 4 mos. & 4 days.

Sacred to the memory of a much beloved friend Capt. Richard Mansfield, who died May 4th 1824, aged 51 years.

Peaceful his dust in slumbers blest,
Angels protect till time shall end;
Then waken'd from its hallow'd rest,
With Christ to glory shall assend.

In memory of Mrs. Lydia, wife of Mr. Richard Mansfield, who died Oct^r. 2^d, 1810. Aet. 33.

Taught in the school of Christ, with humble mind
She breath'd her last and left the world resign'd:
'Tis his to call our relatives away,
Tis ours in sweet submission to obey.

Also, her child,

Lydia Mansfield, died July 24, 1810, aged 21 days.

Our Mother.

Sacred to the memory of Sarah, wife of Richard Mansfield, who died Dec. 30, 1816. Aged 29 years.

Jane, wife of John Putnam, died Oct. 24, 1837, aged 48 years.¹

In early life deprived of the care of a kind and exemplary mother, the surviving children erect this monument to perpetuate her endeared memory.

¹*Lydia*, 1st wife of Richard Mansfield (Richard, Robert, Joseph, Joseph, Robert) was dau. of Samuel Mansfield (Thomas, Daniel, Daniel, Andrew, Robert) and wife Rachel (Roby) of Saugus.

Sally, 2d wife was widow of—Parker and dau. of—Pearson of Saugus.

Jane, 3d wife, was widow of Isaac Lewis and dau. of David Tafts of Lynn by his 1st wife. After the death of her husband Richard Mansfield she md. John Putnam of Saugus.

Mary Jane Lewis who is buried beside her was her daughter by her first husband.

In memory of Mary Jane Lewis, died Sept. 18, 1825, aged 17 years.

She sleeps upon the bosom of her God, and in another and better world will awake in joy and bliss eternal.

(Double Stone.)

In memory of two children of Richard and Lydia Mansfield. Lydia, died May 7, 1807, aged 13 months. Also, Lydia, died, May 8, 1808, aged 3 days.

Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade,
Death came with friendly care;
The opening buds to Heaven convey'd,
And bid them blossom there

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Samuel Mansfield obt. Mar. 1st. 1809. Aet. 59.

"I must go to him, but he will not return to me."

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Rachel, consort of Mr. Saml. Mansfield, obt. May 21st 1809. Aet. 55.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

In memory of Joseph Mansfield, died Feby. 16, 1838, aged 48 years.

O death thou hast conquer'd me
I by thy dart am slain;
But Christ will conquer thee
And I shall rise again.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Thomas Mansfield, who died July 17, 1821. Aet. 60.

"But tho' his breathless body lies
Consign'd to dust and food for worms
Yet Christ shall call him to the skies
All glorious in celestial form."

In memory of Mrs. Hannah Mansfield, widow of Thomas Mansfield, who died Nov. 28, 1832, æ. 75.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Matt. 5: 8.

Sacred to the memory of Eliz. Mansfield, daughter of Thomas & Hannah Mansfield, obt. April 12, 1802. Aet. 3.

Alas, alas, our lovely daughter's gone
And left her parents in grief to mourn:
May we her parents to God's will resign
Wish not to call her back to life again.

In memory of Thomas Mansfield who died March 12, 1844, Æ. 57.

I am the resurrection and the life. John 2: 25.

Betsey Mansfield wife of Thomas Mansfield, died March 16, 1862, Æ. 79.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Moses Mansfield, who departed this life July 29, 1806. Æ. 32.

Life how vain! death how solemn!
Eternity, how real! Religion, how important!
Think on these things!

In memory of Nathaniel Mansfield, who died May 18, 1842, aged 75 years.

In memory of Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel Mansfield, who died Mch. 10, 1851, aged 85 years.

Mr. Amos Mansfield Jr. died June 19, 1846, aged 38 years.

Long shall thy memory be revered
By one who knew thy worth;
By her to whom thou wast endeared
By strongest ties on earth.

Sarah Salinda, only child of Amos and Sarah Mansfield, died Sept. 25, 1843, aged 4 years & 5 mos.

In the cold moist earth we laid her
 When the forest cast the leaf,
 And we weep that one so lovely
 Should have a life so brief.

(*Monument.*)

(*West side.*)

Landlord Jacob Newhall born May 3, 1740. died June 18, 1816.

Elizabeth, his wife, died Jany. 8, 1799, aged 55 yrs.

Jacob Newhall, died June 18, 1816, aged 75.

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord : for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, consort of Mr. Jacob Newhall, who died Jan. 8, 1799, aged 55 years.

Removed from all the pains and cares of life
 Here rests the pleasing friend and faithful wife :
 Ennobled by the virtues of her mind
 Constant to goodness and in death resigned ;
 Sure in the silent sabbath of the grave,
 To taste that tranquil peace she always gave.

In memory of Miss Sarah Newhall, daughter of Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, who died Oct. 25, 1792, in the 16th year of her age.

Dear child, enjoy your pleasant rest,
 Your early call God knows is best ;
 We'll wipe our tears : our eyes be dry ;
 We learn from these we all must die.

In memory of Lucy Newhall, daughter of Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, who died Nov. 1, 1795, aged 14.

Sweet soul we leave thee to thy rest
 Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God :
 Till we from bonds of clay released
 Fly out and climb the shining road.

In memory of Miss Lydia Newhall, who died Apr. 25, 1800, aged 21 years.

Death is a debt to nature due,
I've paid the debt and so must you.

In memory of William Newhall, who died April 7, 1808, æ. 40.

In memory of Mrs. Susannah Newhall, consort of William Newhall, who died June 19, 1809, aged 41.

In memory of Sarah Newhall, daughter of William and Susannah Newhall, who died June 29, 1795, aged 3 mos. 6 days.

Babes thither caught from womb and breast
Claim a right to sing above the rest;
Because they found that happy shore
They never saw nor sought before.

In memory of Elizabeth Newhall, daughter of William and Susannah Newhall, ob. June 23, 1803, aged 2 yrs and 6 weeks.

So fades the lovely blooming flower,
Frail, smiling solace of an hour:
So soon our transient comforts fly,
And pleasure only blooms to die.

(Newhall Lot, enclosed with stone.)

Our father, Jacob Newhall, born, Nov. 1, 1780, died Jany. 1, 1847, aged 66.

Our mother, Abigail Newhall, born, Sept. 25, 1778, died, Oct. 14, 1852, aged 74 yrs.

Our sister Betsey M. Newhall, daughter of Jacob and Abigail Newhall, born May 12, 1812, died Jany. 29, 1859.

In memory of William M. Newhall, son of Jacob and Abigail Newhall, ob. Dec. 20, 1804, aged 10 mos.

There rest in peace, thou lovely babe,
 There sleep in sweet repose :
 And tho' thou molder with the dust
 Thou'rt fairer than the rose.

In memory of Joseph Newhall, ob. Oct. 7, 1804, aged
 21.

And, should thou live the life he lived
 And die his virtuous death,
 Thou'lt feel his pleasures, join his praise
 With sweet celestial breath.

Susannah wife of Jacob Newhall, died Aug. 27, 1855,
 Aet. 85.

"She is not dead, but sleepeth."

In memory of two children of Mr. Jacob Newhall and
 Susan his wife, viz :—

Sarah, died Sept. 16, 1808, aged 20 mos.

Charles, died Jan. 30, 1811, aged 5 mos.

Happy infants, early blest,
 Rest in peaceful slumbers, rest.

Mrs. Rebecca Oliver, wife of Mr. James Oliver, died
 Apl. 22, 1824. Aet. 56.

Sleep, till he who came to save
 Shall recall thee from the grave :
 Sleep, till that eternal day,
 Wipe our tears, our griefs away.

Jane, wife of John Putnam.¹

Jane C. died Jan. 25, 1819, aged 3 years.

Luther and Lucius, aged 1 year & 1 month, children
 of Timothy and Catharine Parker.

Suffer little children to come unto me.

¹ See note to Rich^d. Mansfield.

Timothy Parker died Feb. 13, 1833, aged 42 years.

Catharine his wife died Feb. 10, 1855, aged 63 years
& 7 mos.

Lydia Parker, died June 5, 1838, aged 11 years.

They are not dead, but sleeping.

In memory of Caroline Matilda, daughter of Mr. Samuel & Mrs. Pamela Parker, who died Sept. 14, 1830.
Aet. 14 months.

The lovely child so young and fair
Call'd home at early noon :
Just come to show how sweet a flower
In paradise might bloom.

Charles Everett, died June 21, 1831, aged 3 mos. &
14 ds.

George Franklin, died Aug. 12, 1833, aged 16 months,
children of Samuel & Pamela Parker.

Sleep on sweet babes & take your rest
Your parents tears bedew your sod ;
And early flowers shall deck your grave
While Angels bear you home to God.

In memory of Pamela Pearson, who died Oct. 22, 1846,
Aet. 61.

In memory of Samuel Pearson who died March 7, 1835,
Aet. 90.

In memory of Kesiah, wife of Samuel Pearson, who
died, Oct. 7, 1831, Aet. 74.

[To be continued.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CURIOUS MEMORIAL OF A GLOUCESTER PARSON.

Glocester. April 12—1813

A Memorial

In the Year 1770 I was Ordained ; the stipulated sum for my Support was seventy Pound, to be paid yearly, much lower than that of my neighbor's in the Ministry, I then wish'd & now do, that the peaching of the Gosple might not be considered as a burden.

O^{ur} blessed Saviour obsevered, the Gosple is preached to the Poor, & that the Poor we should alway have with us—in 1775 our revolutionary War commenced ; the circulating Medium depreciated in a very great degree ; my Family was large.

I asked not to have my Salery made up to me, upon the Scale, but have Yearly receiptpted in full for it.

Whereas the Times are distressing we live in ; the Parish is in the Rears as to what is due to me—I do volenterly relinquish my Salery for the rear 1813—Also all my Right & title to a parsonage Wood Lot, bordering upon Kettle-Cove.

And wish to purchase a small Peice of the other Parsonage—Wishing union, grace, mercy, & love may be established amongst us

And remain Your Hum' Servant
in y^e Lord

DANIEL FULLER Clerk.

—Endorsed—

"To the Parish Clerk to be communicated."

A NOTE ON WENHAM LAKE.

THE late Dr. Rufus Anderson, for many years the distinguished Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, passed his boyhood in Wenham, where his father, who bore the same name, was the village pastor from 1805 to 1814 [Hist. Coll., Essex Institute, Vol. xv, p. 38]. It appears from Thompson's Memorial discourse preached at his death that on sitting down, Nov. 3, 1854, to his first meal amidst the tropic heat of Bombay, whither he had journeyed in his official tour round the world, he was refreshed with water tempered with Wenham Lake ice, so rapidly did this modern luxury find its way to the last confines of the golden east.¹

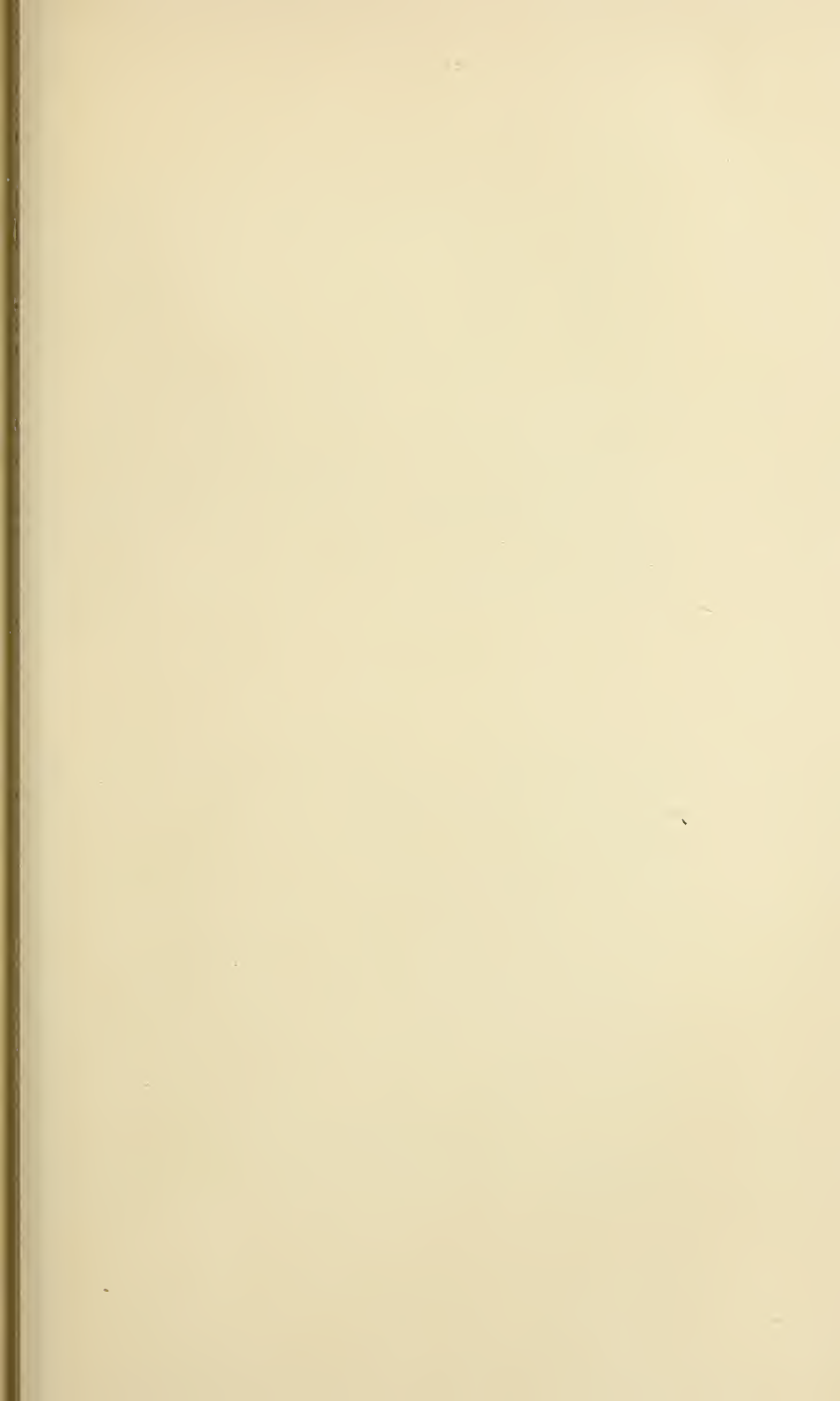
The majestic old elm, once visible from all parts of the lake,—the last landmark which fixed the spot where lived and died that interesting character known as "Pond John" or "Master John" Dodge [Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, Vol. vi, p. 149], succumbed to age and the axe in 1882. The old house had disappeared before, and the elements,

¹ "*Divitis Indiæ, usque ad ultimum Sinum.*"—City seal of Salem.

jealous of all longevity except their own, have made haste to obliterate, with some aid from the plough and harrow, perhaps, every trace of the cellar-wall, so that the ancestral domicile of the childless old hermit is to the eye of coming generations as though it had never been. For of well or well-curb he had no need, seeing that nature had spread out this beautiful expanse of lake before him for his reservoir and fountain, and so, when the house fell, its cellar stone-work remained its only memorial.

This "Pond John" Dodge told the Rev. Charles Babage, (S.T.D. Harv. Coll. 1828), that he well remembered sitting on the knee of General Thomas Gage when that officer was acting as Royal Governor of the Province. The Governor had his headquarters at the Collins House and used to come across the pond in a pleasure-barge with which he amused himself and his friends in hours of leisure. This should have been between May 13 and September 5, 1774, and Governor Gage, though keeping state in the house built by "King Hooper" twenty years before and loaned him by Judge Collins, while two companies of the 64th regiment of the line were encamped as a body-guard on his grounds, and the Provincial Legislature in spite of him sat at Salem Court House and shut its doors with a slam in face of his royal missives,—though all this is true there is evidence beside that of "Master John" that the British soldier was untiring in his efforts to make himself and his obnoxious rule as little offensive as might be in a social way, and no doubt while waiting for his misguided wards, as he supposed, to come to their senses, he had ample time for flitting about the beautiful lake in his pleasure-barge and taking on his knees and amusing with old world stories, if not cajoling with sweetmeats, the quick-minded children of the neighboring farmers.

The site of Hugh Peter's Pulpit, so-called, offered in 1835 by the Town of Wenham to the First Church in Salem, on condition that a monument commemorating their martyred pastor be erected there, and afterwards reduced to make way for the building of ice-houses and the final resting-place of the desanctuarized village church, is once more unoccupied, having been made vacant by fire. The regrets heretofore expressed at the neglect to mark this historic spot in the past, might now take shape in some simple memorial, which would be all the more interesting from the fact that we have preserved to us the skeleton of the church in which Hugh Peter preached, and are in a fair way to unearth the elder Disraeli's vindication of his course after his return to England, never yet in print, and highly commended by that author's more famous son, the first Earl of Beaconsfield.





Cleopatra's Barge of Selen



CLEOPATRA'S BARGE OF SELEN

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXV. APR., MAY, JUNE, 1888. Nos. 4, 5, 6.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE YACHT "CLEOPATRA'S BARGE."

[Read before the Essex Institute at Salem, June 4, 1888.]

BY BENJ. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

SEVENTY-TWO years ago this very month the yacht Cleopatra's Barge was being built in Salem. Many of you now listening to me were then alive and some will remember seeing the yacht. But those who did were so young at the time that their recollection can hardly be separated from tradition, otherwise I should not dare come before you and speak of her.

I possess all of the official papers of the vessel, viz., the log-book, letter books, journal kept by the clerk, Capt. Samuel Curwen Ward, written in his beautiful hand-writing and illustrated with water-color drawings. I have also not only copies of all the letters of introduction given Capt. George Crowninshield, but many of the originals, and all of the letters he wrote from the vessel to his family. A passenger, Benjamin Crowninshield, junior, commonly known as "Philosopher Ben," kept a very elaborate private jour-

nal not intended for other eyes than his own, from which another view of the voyage is obtained. As he quarrelled with Capt. Ward and with the owner, and as he had the *cacoëthes scribendi* strongly developed, I have obtained by reading his account of the voyage, alongside of the other journal, a very vivid picture of the cruise of the yacht and certainly one that cannot be gainsaid.

The Cleopatra's Barge was not, as has frequently been stated, the first yacht built in America. Captain George had built in 1801 by Christopher Turner, in Salem, a sloop which he christened the "Jefferson," and which he used as a yacht for many years.* She was of twenty-two tons, was a good sailer, was made a privateer in 1812,—the second vessel commissioned as a privateer. She made one only voyage, Capt. John Kehew, in July, 1812, taking three prizes, sending to Salem the second prize of the war, schooner "Nymph." She was too small for such work, carrying a crew of thirty, and remained the property of the firm until it was dissolved in 1815. Then, as a part of the estate of old George, she was sold in 1815, after his death, for a fishing vessel to Gloucester. She belonged at one time to Capt. John Crowninshield Very, and later to Caleb Johnson of Nahant. One of his sons tells me that his father owned her a long time, when she was again sold. He thinks she may be in existence yet as she was very strongly built. In the account of Nahant, in the new Essex County History, it is stated that she was broken up at Lynn, but it was probably not so.

It was fifteen years after the Jefferson was built, that the Cleopatra's Barge was commenced. And again after the barge had finished her career as a yacht and was sold for a merchantman in 1818, fifteen years more before

*See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. VI, p. 137; also Vol. VII, p. 213.

another yacht appeared in the waters of Massachusetts Bay.

The name "Cleopatra's Barge" sounds strangely to-day as applied to a yacht; but what would be thought of the name at first given her,—“Car of Concordia?” Fortunately this name was never painted on her stern, the former being substituted for it in December, 1816.

Capt. Benj. Crowninshield commences his log Jan. 23, 1817, probably the day he took command. Among the stores for the cabin was a barrel of mince meat prepared expressly by Mrs. Smith, a cousin of the owner. This barrel of toothsome sweetness made the voyage, and enough came home to be made into at least one regulation mince pie as is still remembered by a good lady of Salem who recalls eating a piece of it.

Various articles of furniture are treasured as heirlooms in the family, particularly the silver ware. Mrs. Henry Saltonstall possesses a tea urn, spoons, a pitcher, and a bed from one of the state rooms. Colonel Caspar Crowninshield has a silver pitcher. Mrs. Nathaniel Silsbee, has a cream pitcher, a flag (probably for a small boat), and two pictures of the yacht, showing the different paintings of her two sides, painted in Genoa. Miss Mary R. Crowninshield, of Charlestown, has various articles of silver ware, the snuff box and lock of hair of Napoleon. Mrs. John Sherman of Boston has a portrait of Napoleon and the yacht's journal illustrated. Mrs. William Eliot Sparks, of Taunton, has another snuff box and lock of hair (probably half of the original lock). Mr. B. W. Crowninshield, of Marblehead, has the log-book, letter books, Napoleon's boots and one of the cabin sofas; and Mr. John C. Crowninshield, of Andover,* has a portrait of George Crowninshield, one of

* See his letter to the E. I. M. Soc., in the Salem Observer of December 22, 1888.

Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield, a pair of compasses (as they called dividers), and also a parallel ruler used in her construction by Retire Becket.

The Cleopatra's Barge was built for a gentleman whose whole life and experience had been passed in commercial pursuits, who was himself an accomplished sailor, familiar with every part of a vessel's hull and every rope and sail of her rig. Besides his knowledge and experience, he possessed also a fastidious taste in all things and particularly in everything relating to a ship. He therefore added to the experience and skill of the best known ship builder of that time, Mr. Retire Becket of Salem (who had built the most successful of the commercial fleet of that town), the exacting demand of an accomplished yachtsman and sailor. Here in the first large yacht built we find the same combination which produced the famous sloops Puritan, Mayflower and Volunteer of the past few years. The vessel was of course built for a different purpose. In 1816, there was no yacht to race with and the vessel was built to be not only a yacht to go on a tour of pleasure, but also as a home for its owner. Captain George Crowninshield, from the day the vessel was launched, made her his home and he intended to pass all his time on her, and actually did so until his death the following year.

It will be interesting to give a slight sketch of this man who was an eccentric and peculiar individual, and to show how his peculiar education and experience made his yacht what it was. A silhouette likeness of him illustrates this article.

He was born in Salem in 1766, and was educated with his five brothers (of whom he was the eldest) by his father, to be a merchant. A mercantile education in those days was something very different from what it is to-day; in fact the old race of merchants may be said to have died

out. Captain George Crowninshield's father and grandfather both were merchants of Salem, doing a large business, which developed very rapidly, owing to the opening of the East India and China business from 1785 down; and it was precisely at this time that these children became old enough to enter into this business. The old gentleman, a man of remarkable character, determined that his sons should thoroughly understand all that pertained to commerce from common sailor up to captain of a ship, and afterwards should learn everything relating to the counting house and management of a large mercantile business. When little boys they were all sent to a common school, and about their eleventh year began their first particular study which should develop them as sailors and ship captains. To be a sailor and ship captain was the first step towards becoming a successful merchant. At that time most merchants owned their own vessels and many of them not only owned them, but built them; and nobody was thought fit to be a merchant who had not gone to sea and worked his way up, in nautical expression, from the hawse hole to the quarter deck. And the quarter deck was considered a stepping-stone to the counting room. These boys studied their navigation as little chaps of twelve years old and were required to thoroughly master the subject before being sent to sea. It was common in those days to pursue their studies by much writing out of problems (and boys kept the books until full). Many of these books are in existence to-day and are a written record of the education of the boys. Several such are among our family records and are interesting in the extreme, beautifully written, without blots or dog's ears, and all the problems of navigation, as practised then, are drawn out in a neat and in many cases a remarkably handsome manner. The designing of vessels was also

studied and the general principles of construction mastered. Even the nautical instruments are drawn out; and as a *chef d'œuvre* occupying a full page is the mariner's compass done in colors and with much ornamentation. To-day at Washington, in the library of the State Department, one is shown such books written out by George Washington, which are a monument of his education as a surveyor. They are very beautifully done, neat and handsome. I was surprised at seeing books done by some of these Salem boys when studying navigation, all of them nearly as well done as George Washington's, and one in particular, done by a young girl which I think exceeded that of him who, we are told, was "first" in almost everything.

As soon as the theory of navigation was mastered, these youngsters were sent to sea sometimes as common sailors, but commonly as captain's clerk, in which position they were enabled to learn everything about the management of a ship without being actually a common sailor. I find on looking over the family records that the youngest of these six sons, Edward, on his first voyage to the West Indies in one of Mr. William Gray's ships, died at Guadaloupe aged only fourteen years, as ship's clerk. Fourteen years old to-day does not suggest to us a proper age for sending a boy to sea. Some boys of that age are hardly allowed to be on the street without somebody to look after them. But I fancy that those boys brought up to hear of the sending to sea of one ship,—the arrival of another, and listening to all the details of voyages with their many interesting particulars of shipwrecks,—battles with pirates or even war vessels, for in those days vessels went to sea fully armed and prepared for fighting as well as for commerce,—all these things must have inspired the boys with a desire to go and do likewise. And they were

probably glad and eager to go to sea when mere boys. Mercantile pursuits to-day are carried on in an office in the centre of the city, and a merchant is surrounded by very different scenes from those of the past generations. He may carry on a large business without ever seeing the goods he deals in. All buying and selling is now done through brokers, and his office usually gives little or no indication of his business. What could more stimulate the imagination of a boy than the ordinary routine of commerce then? Counting rooms then were in buildings on a wharf. From the windows of the counting room could be seen the ships of the firm alongside the wharf. Some ships were getting ready for sea, and others unloading the various products of the East. Storehouses full of these products were on the wharf, and a merchant was necessarily familiar with all his goods, the very names of which to-day are strange, if not unknown. The very atmosphere was spicy with the productions of the East,—each vessel brought curious things from all parts of the world, even curious animals. The brother of Captain George brought to New York in 1796, in the ship "America," the first elephant which came to this country. He, then in command of that ship, was only twenty-six years old. Almost all of these boys, even the youngest, were old enough to recollect the closing years of the Revolutionary War in which Salem was conspicuous for helping with her privateers. Frequently, a vessel would leave Salem for the East Indies and nothing would be heard of her until she would arrive again in Salem after an absence of sometimes nearly two years. The vessels sometimes would not come directly home, but go to some French or Mediterranean port, dispose of the eastern cargo and take in another. Can it then be wondered at that these youngsters at a very early age became captains of vessels entrusted with a cargo of

great value? It is a fact that of the five remaining brothers, all commanded vessels before they were twenty years old; and, at one time, all six of the brothers were absent, all except the youngest (whose death I have just mentioned), in command of ships and three of them in command of ships in the East Indies. In order to pursue such a voyage the vessel would usually sail for the East Indies loaded with ballast and with Mexican silver dollars in kegs or boxes with which to buy the cargo, of pepper, tea or coffee, to bring home. In order to fit out a vessel for such a voyage, not the easiest part of it was a letter of instruction, usually an elaborate affair, which was prepared in the counting room and which had to be carefully considered by all the partners and in which, besides the ordinary risks of the sea and markets, were also to be considered foreign wars, which might break out after the ship got to her port in the East. These young men made enough voyages as supercargo and captain to thoroughly understand all that related to the sailing of the vessel, its cargo to be bought and sold, foreign governments, moneys, weights, measures, the products of all the different countries to which the vessel should go. All of these things were included in the accomplishments which made the successful shipmaster. Only after all these things were mastered would the young man be taken into the counting house and made a partner in the business. Seldom would such a man again go to sea, unless impelled by a peculiar love for sea, ships and sailors.

Captain George, after making the desired number of voyages, developed a peculiar taste for the sailing of vessels and was considered in Salem to have a remarkable eye for everything pertaining to the building and fitting out of ships, and his particular duty in the firm, at that time doing a very large business, became the building and fit-

ting out of the vessels. He was a short man ; five feet six inches in height, remarkably robust and strong, and was considered to be very bold and courageous. He was very fond not only of ships but of sailors. No man was better known among all the ship captains of Massachusetts than he was.

Very soon after going into the counting house in Salem, he built the little sloop Jefferson which he used as a yacht. Although the rig of a sloop is a pretty simple affair, yet he had on her many contrivances of his own and it used to be his pleasure to sail about in Massachusetts Bay with his friends. But particularly after a severe storm he would go out in this yacht taking with him extra men and extra stores for the purpose of rendering assistance to vessels which might have been disabled. Such duty is now done by revenue cutters. To him this was an exceeding pleasure. One would not associate with such a man the idea of fastidious elegance in dress and belongings. But Captain George was a great "swell" and dandy. His clothes were of the latest and most advanced pattern. He dressed in small clothes and Hessian boots with gold tassels. His coat was wonderful in cloth, pattern, trimmings and buttons, and his waistcoat was a work of art. Dandies were known by their waistcoats in those days.* He wore a pig-tail, and on top of all a bell crowned beaver hat,—not what is called a beaver to-day made of silk, but a hat made of beaver skin shaggy like a terrier dog. He was accustomed to drive about with a remarkable equipage which was one of the wonders of Salem, a currie painted yellow. A currie is a two-wheeled vehicle hung upon C springs

* " The collar of his coat was high !
His waistcoat rolled, a wide expanse !
To wear two vests, in days gone by,
Was no uncommon circumstance."

with a pole to which a pair of horses are harnessed. When Captain George drove abroad in his yellow curricule, everybody stopped in the streets and the children ran out of the houses to look at it. He was very fond of children and delighted in driving them about and taking them on board the yacht while she was in Salem to show it to them.

When in Salem emergencies arose calling for a man of daring, Captain George was the one who was generally called to the front. Three times in his life he jumped overboard to rescue persons in danger of drowning, for one of which rescues he received the gold medal of the Massachusetts Humane Society. He was a skilled fireman in those days when all firemen were volunteers. He was known in that calling also for skill and daring and made some brave rescues from burning dwellings. When the frigate Constitution was chased into Marblehead by two British frigates, the "Tenedos" and the "Endymion," great was the excitement, for the frigate Constitution's crew was largely composed of Salem and Marblehead men. This happened Sunday morning, April 3, 1814. It is related that Parson William Bentley was preaching his sermon when he noticed that one after another of the men in the congregation (and the proportion of men to the whole congregation was larger than it is to-day) would rise and go out.* Seeing that something unusual had occurred the Parson beckoned up a member of the congregation from whom he learned the facts. He then stopped his sermon where it was, recited a short prayer and announced to the congregation that the frigate Constitution was chased into Marblehead by two British cruisers. The doctor added, "I don't know what the rest of you are going to do, but I am going to Marble-

* The East Meeting House, where Dr. Bentley preached, was on Essex street between Bentley and Hardy streets.

head." He went where Captain George already had gone with guns from the gunhouse in Salem. The gunhouse occupied the northeast corner of the common, where the fountain now stands. Being Sunday, the stage horses were having their "day off." The stable was on the right hand side of Union street from Essex and next to Union Building. Manning's stage horses were harnessed into the guns and took them to Marblehead, and it is said that Captain George rode over on one of the guns. In those days every town on the seacoast had its gunhouse and powder magazine. Both of these exist in Marblehead to-day.

On the first day of June, 1813, occurred the unfortunate battle between the Chesapeake and Shannon in Boston Bay in which, besides the loss of the frigate Chesapeake, most of her officers were killed and wounded and among them Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow. The captured vessel was taken to Halifax and the bodies of these officers with her, and they were there buried. Captain George Crowninshield chartered at his own expense the brig Henry and selected a crew of well known ship masters of Salem; and after procuring proper papers from Washington he sailed down to Halifax where he was well received and brought the bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow back to Salem. An old gentleman of Salem still recalls a thrashing he received at the hands of his Federalist father because he, as a boy, stole away to see the funeral procession of these heroes. It was a red letter day in Salem for the Republicans. Sidewalks and rooftops were black with spectators. Federalists refused the use of the North Church for the service and would not look at the procession, nor allow their children to do so. The service took place in the Howard Street Church, where a famous eulogy was pronounced by Judge Story.* The

*See Bulletin Essex Inst., Vol. XX, pp. 84-9; also, Felt's Annals, Vol. II, p. 340.

Essex Register of August 25, 1813, gives the "names of the gentlemen who so honorably volunteered their services with Captain Crowninshield to perform the voyage to Halifax in the *Henry*," as follows:—

"Capt. Holten J. Breed, Capt. Benjamin Upton, Capt. Jeduthan Upton, jr., Capt. John Sinclair, Capt. Samuel Briggs, Capt. Joseph L. Lee, Capt. Stephen Burchmore, Capt. Thomas Bowditch, and Mr. Thorndike Proctor."

Captain George Crowninshield was eminently a public spirited man.

In 1809, the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons, owing partly to the embargo which put an end to commerce for the time being, and partly to the death of his next younger brother Jacob, who had died the year before at Washington where as a member of Congress he had resided for eight years, was dissolved. Two of the other brothers retired, wishing to go into business on their own account; and from that time the firm consisted of his father and the two sons George and Benjamin. In 1814, his younger brother, Benjamin, was called to Washington by Mr. Madison to enter his cabinet as Secretary of the Navy, in which post he remained for four years. In the following June, 1815, old George Crowninshield, the father, died, aged eighty-two years, after a most active and eventful commercial life, being actively engaged in business up to within a month of his death. These events terminated the business of the firm, and George Crowninshield, at that time forty-nine years old, robust, full of energy, unmarried and possessed of a liberal fortune, determined to build a large yacht in which to visit foreign ports; and, being passionately fond of the sea and its belongings, he determined to make this vessel not only surpass everything previously built in all respects but serve as his home.

When the war of 1812 broke out, business in Salem, from being in a languishing condition, may be said to have

died. Some merchants, notably those who were democrats, changed their vessels into privateers. Geo. Crowninshield & Co's favorite ship, the *America*, six hundred tons, an exceedingly fast vessel, was changed into a privateer by cutting her down,—“razeeing” as it was called, —and increasing her sail plan, building higher bulwarks, etc. She was very successful in that capacity, and whether as merchant vessel or as privateer she was never in her career outsailed but once, and then only slightly by a much larger vessel, a forty-gun French man-of-war.

Captain George, whose pride and pet this vessel had been, took her as the model for his new yacht, and chose Mr. Retire Becket, or “Tyrey” Becket, as he was commonly called, as his builder.* The yacht was started in the spring of 1816 and launched Oct. 21, in the same year. It took some time to collect proper timber and the keel was not laid until the first of July. Meantime, however, the furniture was being made; her plate, glass and other furnishings were got ready, so that she might sail about Christmas time.

She was actually built south of Derby street and to the eastward of India—or Crowninshield's—wharf where the “*America*” and “*Fame*” had been constructed. Her reputation spread abroad, and before she was launched and while on the stocks people came from far and wide to see her as she grew under the builder's hands. In every respect she was a peculiar vessel, and in her hull and rigging nothing was spared to make her surpass everything that had preceded her. As there were no yachts in those times on whose rig and fittings she might be an improvement, her prototype came from among commercial vessels, but particularly from vessels of war and privateers. And in her appearance

* See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. VII, pp. 207-13; and Vol. VIII, pp. 139-44.

she looked much like a small man-of-war. While still on the stocks she was not only completely built, as to her hull, but her inside fittings and furniture were well along; all her spars were on end, her yards crossed, her rigging set up. Also her sails were bent and all the running rigging rove so that, when she was launched and went into the water, she was completely ready for sea, except her heavy stores. It would have been possible even to put these on board and she might have sailed the day of her launch. It is customary now to finish the hull of a vessel and rig her after she has been launched, and sometimes the rigging and inside fitting of a vessel will occupy as much time as the building of the hull. Even the great attention of her owner did not prevent some delay in the cabin furnishing. It was finally completed Dec. 6, and after being shown to the family, was opened to the public at large. Captain George wrote that in one day one thousand and nine hundred ladies and seven hundred gentlemen came on board and that the visitors while the brig was in Salem averaged nine hundred each day. Many presents of ornaments and useful things were received from friends. Commodore Bainbridge sent a patent log suitably inscribed, and country people sent fruit and vegetables.

Captain George, during the building of the vessel, passed all his time in and about her. All of her fittings were made after his own designs and particularly in the rigging of the vessel was his individuality shown. He had on her a wheel of his own construction, and capstan made after his own ideas. The standing rigging was all set up in a different way from the customary one. On the deck of this yacht as a pendant to the capstan was a wooden statue of a North American Indian the size of life, splendid in war paint and feathers. When the vessel was afterwards on her cruise in the Mediterranean the sailors used to im-

pose upon the simple peasants by telling them that it was alive and introducing them to it. And while in Genoa the sailors noticing the many statues of saints in the churches, told the peasants that this was the statue of an American saint, and they would kneel to it and even kiss its feet. Some of the ropes about the quarter deck were served with velvet and some were of different colors. Everything above and below decks was not only peculiar but very elegant. The furniture and fittings of the cabin were in mahogany and bird's-eye maple, the furniture of the cabin being of the style known now as the "First Empire," with gilt bronze ornaments. In her cabin, which was nineteen feet by twenty, were two long sofas of mahogany and bird's-eye maple eleven feet in length. One of these to-day is in my house, and is considered not only a remarkable piece of furniture, but a very handsome one. The saloon had a chandelier, a side-board, two large mirrors with gilt eagles above, imitation windows and draperies, and the furniture was covered with red velvet and gold lace. She was fitted out with a complete and very large service of silver, and the china and glass were made for her. The statèrooms were also elegantly fitted up. Some idea of this can be obtained from the fact that when after his death the vessel was sold by auction, the furniture removed from her was appraised in his estate at \$8000.

The vessel itself cost him \$50,000 and was sold by auction for \$15,000. The vessel was eighty-three feet long on the water line, twenty-two feet eleven and a half inches wide, and eleven feet five and a half inches in depth. Mr. Burgess assures me that these are almost precisely the dimensions of the famous sloop Mayflower, which was eighty-five feet long on the water line, twenty-three feet wide, and measured according to the plan in vogue then, would be about eleven feet in depth. She tonned one hundred

ninety-one and forty-one ninety-fifths, which Mr. Burgess tells me would be almost precisely the tonnage of the Mayflower measured in the same way.

No two yachts could well be more dissimilar in appearance than these two notwithstanding. The Cleopatra's Barge was painted in different patterns on her two sides; one side being painted in horizontal stripes of many colors, and the other side with a herring-bone pattern. She had a wide stern with little cabin windows opening out on it, a wooden figure head, and she was rigged as a hermaphrodite brig — that is, square rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft on the mainmast. Although not intended as a racing vessel (what vessel is until she proves fast?) she was yet provided with every species of light sail known to those days, and with some which have become a curiosity to-day: notably the ring tail and water sail which have almost gone out of existence. Instead of the spinaker of to-day this yacht being square rigged on the foremast had studding sail booms, and you will see later that she used these light sails to advantage.

The people, who came to see her in crowds while she was on the stocks, came the day she was launched in a multitude, from Salem and all surrounding towns. After her launch she was taken alongside the wharf, and later when she was in the stream before sailing she was visited by thousands of people. While in the stream she was frozen up in the ice which that winter closed Salem harbor for many months and while thus frozen up crowds of people drove about her in sleighs, an unusual but very advantageous way for seeing a vessel.

Captain George selected as captain for his yacht his cousin Benjamin Crowninshield,* whose son, Benjamin, jr.,

*See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. IV, pp. 130 and 264-5.

also went as passenger, and Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward went, nominally as ship's clerk, really as passenger. He kept a journal of the yacht, which was illustrated with water color drawings (which I have here to show). The crew was about the same as a yacht of the same size would have to-day. Besides the captain, there were two mates, ten men before the mast, a cook, steward, steward's mate and two boys; and a Mr. Allen went in her as far as St. Michael's, as a passenger.

During the interval from the launch of the vessel to the day of her sailing, Captain George lived on board and received a great many persons at dinner parties and other entertainments. The officers of the navy from Charlestown came to see her, and many distinguished people from Boston and even from a greater distance.*

On the thirtieth day of March, 1817, she sailed for the Mediterranean, her departure being witnessed by a great concourse of people. The second day out she ran into a gale of wind with snow, and her log-book and journal show that she behaved admirably, and besides sailing fast, was perfectly dry and an excellent sea boat. She sailed faster than was anticipated, and experiments were made with the log line, thinking it might be too short. The log proved correct and showed that under short sail she made eleven knots. Nothing unusual occurred on the voyage to the Azores. At Fayal, the principal port of these islands, the vessel remained for one week and here she was visited by all the principal people of the place and they were entertained on board. Mr. Dabney, the American consul, was profuse in extending a hospitality for which all that family has ever been famous.†

The yacht next proceeded to Madeira, landing Mr. Allen

* See Appendix, NOTE ONE.

† See Appendix, NOTE TWO.

at St. Michael's, one of the Azore islands, on the way. The passage to Madeira was pleasant, and here the vessel remained a week, which was occupied by visiting the principal people of Madeira, to whom Captain George had letters, and in turn the vessel was visited by almost everybody on the island. Captain George was a democrat, and allowed not only people of rank on board, but during his whole visit to the Mediterranean he permitted everybody who was decently dressed and wished to see the vessel, to go freely about her; and so many people availed themselves of this liberty that it was, in many places, almost impossible to carry out the daily routine on board ship, and the visits of these people became a great nuisance. Her owner was doubtless aware that people of humble rank, many of them, were as capable of appreciating a fine vessel as the better classes. He was undoubtedly very proud of his brig and not unwilling to have its beauties seen by everybody. At some of the ports, at which the vessel stopped later in the Mediterranean, the crowds were so great that it was found necessary to try and keep them back, and at Barcelona the vessel had to be hauled out of the harbor into the outer road to prevent the pressing of these great crowds. It was in vain, however, for they followed the vessel in boats, and as outside the harbor the swell from the sea was great, in addition to the other discomforts of so many visitors was added that of their being made sea-sick. It was at Barcelona, also, that many people in the endeavor to get on board were crowded overboard, and among them three ladies. And here a Spanish officer finding it difficult to get on board, and being kept back by the guard at the gangway, drew his pistol and forced a passage to her deck. A woman was here actually brought to bed of a child on board the brig.

After enjoying the society at Madeira and visiting all the

other places of interest, the vessel sailed for the Mediterranean, and visited in turn the following places : Tangiers, Gibraltar, Malaga, Cartagena, Port Mahone in the island of Minorca, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn, the island of Elba, at which place the brig visited three different ports, and Civita Vecchia. The plans of the owner were a little indefinite on entering the Mediterranean, and he expected to go as far east as Constantinople, and after visiting the Mediterranean it was among the possibilities to proceed north along the coast of France, visiting the western ports before coming home. But the vessel had started for Europe later in the season than was intended on account of being frozen up in Salem harbor and undoubtedly the heat made it desirable to leave the Mediterranean sooner than he had purposed.

When the vessel visited Tangier, she was carefully repainted and made shipshape before visiting the European ports of the Mediterranean. The late Emperor William, of Germany, was said to care, when he was King of Prussia, for but one thing in the state,—the army ; and in the army to care for but one thing, the buttons. His passion for everything military is well known. Captain George was as fond of ships as the King of his soldiers, and as particular about the appearance of everything, as that distinguished monarch. During the short time of two months in the Mediterranean, the vessel was repainted no less than three times, and one of the passengers, in a little journal of his own, complains that his clothes were ruined by fresh paint and that there was no part of the vessel upon which he could lean. And doubtless the crew had an unpleasant time of it while in port, being forever occupied in painting and scraping and cleaning up. Besides what her crew did to the vessel, when she arrived at Marseilles, workmen came on board, the gilt work was all regilded, additions

were made to the cabin upholstery, and one state room was dismantled and refurnished in a different style. The same gentleman who complained of painting spoke of these workmen as an "army of upholsterers, painters, gilders, tailors."*

Before setting out upon his voyage, Captain George had provided himself with three hundred letters to the most eligible people at the different ports where he intended to stop, and from the officers in the navy he had letters to the commanding officers of the British and French fleets, and he was enabled by means of these to meet everywhere the most distinguished persons. It is related in some early public accounts of the voyage that the Pope himself, while the vessel lay at Civita Vecchia, came down from Rome to inspect this wonderful vessel. This is not true, but some idea of the excitement the vessel's presence caused may be given by the statement that on an average, 3500 people visited her every day she was in port, and while at Barcelona on one day by actual count no less than 8000 persons went on board. Many dinner parties were given and entertainments were served every day in the saloon to her invited guests.

The American squadron, sent out at the close of the War of 1812 to chastise the Algerines, was at this time in the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Chauncey. The frigate "United States," the fastest vessel in the American navy at that time, came into the harbor at Gibraltar while the Cleopatra's Barge was there, on its way, under the command of Captain Shaw, to join the American squadron. In sailing from Cartagena to Port Mahone the Cleopatra's Barge fell in with the United States and they had a race all the way to that place (Port Mahone). This

*See Appendix, NOTE THREE.

race began one morning when the approach of day showed the vessels in close proximity to each other. The American frigate with its crew of probably 400 men was, of course, enabled to get her light sails spread sooner than the much smaller yacht with twelve sailors, and the frigate thus obtained a start of nearly two miles. But after sailing all day the yacht was seen to have gained upon her larger rival, and, the wind shifting, and both vessels being brought by the wind, the smaller vessel made still better work of it; and we learn from a letter written by her owner at Port Mahone, that he was very jubilant over his successful trial, the first the yacht had after being launched.

Their stay at Marseilles was made very pleasant owing to the civility of numerous friends and people of distinction in that place; and going from there to Toulon, the headquarters of the French navy in the Mediterranean, the owner's pride was gratified by the attention of the French navy officers to his handsome yacht.

On the way to Genoa, in a strong breeze under favorable circumstances, the yacht logged close upon thirteen knots, for ten hours, which is about as fast as any yacht to-day can go. Her sailing qualities were declared by her owner, and nobody was better competent to judge, to be extraordinary.

While at Genoa the vessel was again visited by immense crowds of people and here we have the testimony of other people, besides those on board, to what occurred. An account of the vessel is given by Baron von Zach (a German astronomer of distinction, who had established an observatory at Genoa), in his "*Correspondance Astronomique*," Vol. II.* He says "I went on board with all the world and it happened that, in inquiring after my

* See Appendix, NOTE FOUR.

friends and correspondents at Philadelphia and Boston, I mentioned, among others, the name of Mr. Bowditch. 'He is a friend of our family and our neighbor at Salem', replied the captain, a smart little old man, 'and that young man whom you see there, my son, was his pupil: in fact it is he and not myself who navigates the ship. Question him a little and see if he has learned anything.' Our dialogue was as follows: 'You have had an excellent teacher of navigation, young man, and you cannot help being a good scholar. In making the Straits of Gibraltar, what was the error in your reckoning?' The young man replied, 'six miles.' 'You must then have got your longitude very accurately. How did you get it?' 'First by our chronometer, and afterward by lunar distances.' 'What! do you know how to take and calculate the longitude by lunar distances?' The young captain seemed somewhat nettled at my question, and answered me with a scornful smile, 'I know how to calculate the longitude, why! our cook can do that.' 'Your cook?' . . . Here the owner of the ship and the old captain assured me that the cook on board could calculate the longitude very well; that he had a taste and passion for it and did it every day. 'There he is,' said the young man, pointing with his finger to a negro at the stern of the ship with a white apron before him and holding a chicken in one hand and a butcher's knife in the other. 'Come forward, Jack!' said the captain to him, 'the gentleman is surprised that you can calculate the longitude. Answer his questions.' I asked him, 'what method do you use to calculate the longitude, by lunar distances?' His answer was, 'It is all one to me, but I use the methods of Maskelyne, Lyons, Witchel and Bowditch. But upon the whole I prefer Dunthorne's,—I am more used to it and can work it quicker.' I could not express my surprise at hearing this black face talk in this way with his bloody chicken and

knife in his hand. 'Go,' said Mr. Crowninshield to him, 'lay down your chicken, bring your books and your journal and show the gentleman your calculations.' The cook soon returned with his books under his arm: Mr. Bowditch's *Practical Navigator*, Maskelyne's *Requisite Tables*, Hutton's *Table of Logarithms*, and the *Nautical Almanac*. I saw all the calculations of this negro, latitude, longitude and the true time which he had worked out on the passage. He answered all my questions with wonderful accuracy, not in Latin of the caboose but in good set terms of navigation. The cook had been round the world as cabin boy with Captain Cook in his last voyage and was well acquainted with the particulars of his assassination at Owhyhee on the 14th of February, 1779."

It is unnecessary to say anything further about the visitors to the yacht or the people who were entertained on board, for the same thing occurred at every port. Everywhere she was visited by immense crowds of curious people, also the principal people of the cities, and everywhere they were entertained in turn. In order to do this better, Captain George took on board at Marseilles three musicians who continued with the vessel as long as she was in the Mediterranean. At the different ports of Elba besides these musicians, he engaged a complete band of music who remained on board as long as she was at Elba.

While at Leghorn where, by the way, the American fleet was also anchored at the same time, a violent gale of wind lasting several days came up and the vessel, lying in the outer roadstead, was tossed about so much that some of the furniture was upset. We learn by the journal that one of the lamps was overturned into the barrel of mince meat. The chandelier was knocked down and many of those little mishaps occurred which would be so distressing to a landsman. They did not much trouble her crew, all of whom were good sailors, and it is to be noticed that in the cabin

everybody including owner and passengers had been accomplished ship captains.

Captain George, a democrat in politics, was an ardent admirer of the Emperor Napoleon, and visited Elba for the purpose of meeting some of his suite, who still remained there after his escape from the island. This occurred just two years previously. It will be remembered that Napoleon crossed over to the neighborhood of Cannes in France in March, 1815, when the "hundred days" of preparation terminated with the Battle of Waterloo, and ended the career of this great man, who at the time of the visit of the yacht was in exile at St. Helena. At Elba, the house where he was kept a prisoner was visited and the acquaintance was made of many of his intimate friends, and from them in turn letters were given introducing the party on the yacht to the members of the Bonaparte family at Rome, which was then the headquarters of the family.

The yacht went from Elba to Civita Vecchia, and the owner and his friends in the course of a few days went up to Rome, and for nearly two weeks remained there in the constant society of the Bonapartes. The family at that time consisted of Madam Letitia, the mother of the Emperor, "*Madame Mère*," as she was called, Cardinal Fesch, her brother-in-law, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and the beautiful and accomplished Princess Pauline Borghese.*

It has been frequently stated that the purpose for which the yacht was built was to rescue the Emperor, then at St. Helena. This is pure imagination, and probably arose from the visit made to the Bonapartes at Rome, and partly because when the yacht returned it brought on it two officers of Napoleon's suite. One was the captain of the vessel in which the Emperor escaped from Elba to France in 1815, and the other a surgeon on his staff. The European dread of Napoleon, increased by his former

*See Appendix, NOTE FIVE.

escape from Elba, caused at this time great attention on the part of the French Bourbons to the members of that family residing at Rome, and four small French men-of-war constantly watched the port of Civita Vecchia. One of these was in the harbor while the yacht was there, and it was perhaps thought that they would interfere with the vessel, particularly after the visit of the owner to the family in Rome, and because they were to take on board two officers of Napoleon's suite. Captain George sent a messenger down to Civita Vecchia giving orders for the vessel to be immediately got ready for sea, and saying that he would sail fifteen minutes after he came on board. He did this in the evening and the vessel during the night put to sea and sailed westward. The next morning as the vessel was in the straits of St. Boniface, between Sardinia and Corsica, daylight showed one of these French war vessels in pursuit with every possible sail set. It did not take long to get out the kites on the Cleopatra's barge. This was her second race, and in a few hours the French man-of-war was comfortably astern,—so much faster was the yacht. Two or three days after this a third race occurred between the yacht and a famous Baltimore clipper, the "General Jackson," which happened to be in the Mediterranean at the time, and which had a great reputation for speed. But her defeat was even more marked than that of the French man-of-war.

The vessel proceeded to Gibraltar, landed one of her passengers, Benj. Crowninshield, jr., and then made an uneventful voyage to Salem where she arrived on the 3rd of October, 1817.* She was taken alongside of Crowninshield's wharf, the crew discharged, and her owner with his servants continued to live on board, and he immediately began to plan another voyage. This time he in-

* See Appendix, NOTE SIX.

tended to go to England, to visit its principal ports, as also those of other countries in the North sea, and then go into the Baltic as far as St. Petersburg. But the old proverb of God and man again proved true, for on the 26th of November, at 9 o'clock in the evening, Captain George Crowninshield died very suddenly on board his yacht, of heart disease. A remarkable coincidence was the death of Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward, his friend, who had made the voyage with him, who expired in Salem, only a short way off, the same day, hour and minute.*

Dr. Bentley writes to his brother, that at no private funeral in Salem had there ever been so large a turn-out of people as at that of Captain George. He had always been remarkable for liberality to the poor, and it was said that every humble person in town attended his funeral, and the hearse had difficulty in passing on account of the crowd.

In the following summer the yacht was dismantled, sold and fitted up for a merchant vessel.† She made one voyage to Rio; sailing from Salem, Oct. 1st, commanded by Capt. Israel Williams of Salem, with Dudley G. Woodbridge as a passenger; cargo not given. She cleared for home from Rio Janeiro, January 31st, 1819, and arrived at Boston April 2nd, in sixty days, with a cargo of 2019 Hides, Sugar, Coffee, [570 lbs & 5 bags] and 40 bags of Tapioca. She was again sold on returning to Boston, and used for a while as a packet-ship, between Boston and Charleston, South Carolina. After which she was fitted up for a voyage to the northwest coast, and after proceeding to that place, was taken to the Sandwich Islands, and sold to King Kamehameha I, and used by him as a yacht for about a year. Then, owing to unsuccessful seamanship, she was run upon a reef of rocks and wrecked. She was

* See Appendix, NOTE SEVEN.

† See Appendix, NOTE EIGHT.

so strongly built that many months of a rough sea failed to thoroughly break her up. Her remains were finally taken to Honolulu and remained there many years on the beach.

While at Rome, Capt. George procured from the family many souvenirs of the great Emperor, and the Princess Pauline gave to one of the party a mosaic snuff-box and a lock of the Emperor's hair which she said she cut off with her own hands. She also gave a beautiful cameo likeness of herself set in a ring and several other interesting objects which had belonged to the Emperor.

When the distinguished English botanist, Mr. J. C. Loudon, was writing one of his books on the trees of Great Britain he wished to give an account of some famous beech trees growing on the Duke of Wellington's place, Strathfieldsaye. He accordingly wrote to His Grace a letter in which he said, "May I come down and see your beeches?" and signed it J. C. Loudon. The Duke was not acquainted with him nor his writing, and read the letter, "May I come down and see your breeches?" J. C. *London*, not Loudon. J. C. London would be the signature of J. C. Bloomfield, Bishop of London, who was a friend of the Duke's. Accordingly, he wrote to the Bishop appointing a day for his visit and gave an order to his valet to get out the "breeches" which he had worn at the battle of Waterloo. The Bishop was a distinguished man, but not so much so as the Iron Duke; and, without expressing his astonishment, he went down, had a pleasant day, saw the breeches and went back without saying anything about it; and it was only some time afterwards that the joke was understood and made known. Now, if the Bishop of London could go to see the breeches of Wellington, will not you look kindly upon the boots of Napoleon Bonaparte which are a part of the relics brought to America by Capt. George Crowninshield in the Cleopatra's Barge?

[The boots and other relics of Napoleon and of the yacht were here shown.]

From what I have said, you will see another exemplification of my statement, that it is when a clever yacht designer or builder has for a client a thorough yachtsman, who understands every part of his vessel and equipment and knows what he wants, that the best can be obtained. We would have expected that the first yacht built would not be successful, but no vessel ever fulfilled the purpose for which she was built better than the "Cleopatra's Barge," and she fulfilled the expectations even of her fastidious and exacting owner.

[*List of the officers and crew of the Cleopatra's Barge from the vessel's papers on her first voyage.*]

<i>Captain.</i>	Benjamin Crowninshield,	age	58
<i>1st Mate.</i>	Joseph Strout, jr.	"	29
<i>2d Mate.</i>	William C. Dean	"	37
<i>Steward.</i>	Hanson Posey	"	33
	Augustus Newhall	"	14
<i>Boys.</i>	{ Samuel Hodgdon	"	14
	{ Amos Perkins, jr.	"	14
<i>Clerk.</i>	Sam'l Curwen Ward	"	50
<i>Sailors.</i>	William Chapman	"	20
	George Symmes	"	19
	Sewall Thompson	"	22
	Richard Davis	"	20
	Frederick Boles	"	26
	David Oliver	"	34
	James Moore	"	26
	Mark Serace	"	45
	Nathaniel G. Blunt	"	30

Nath. G. Blunt, deserted.

George Brown (?) discharged }
 Marius Brutus shipped at } Marseilles.

Thomas Smith " Genoa.

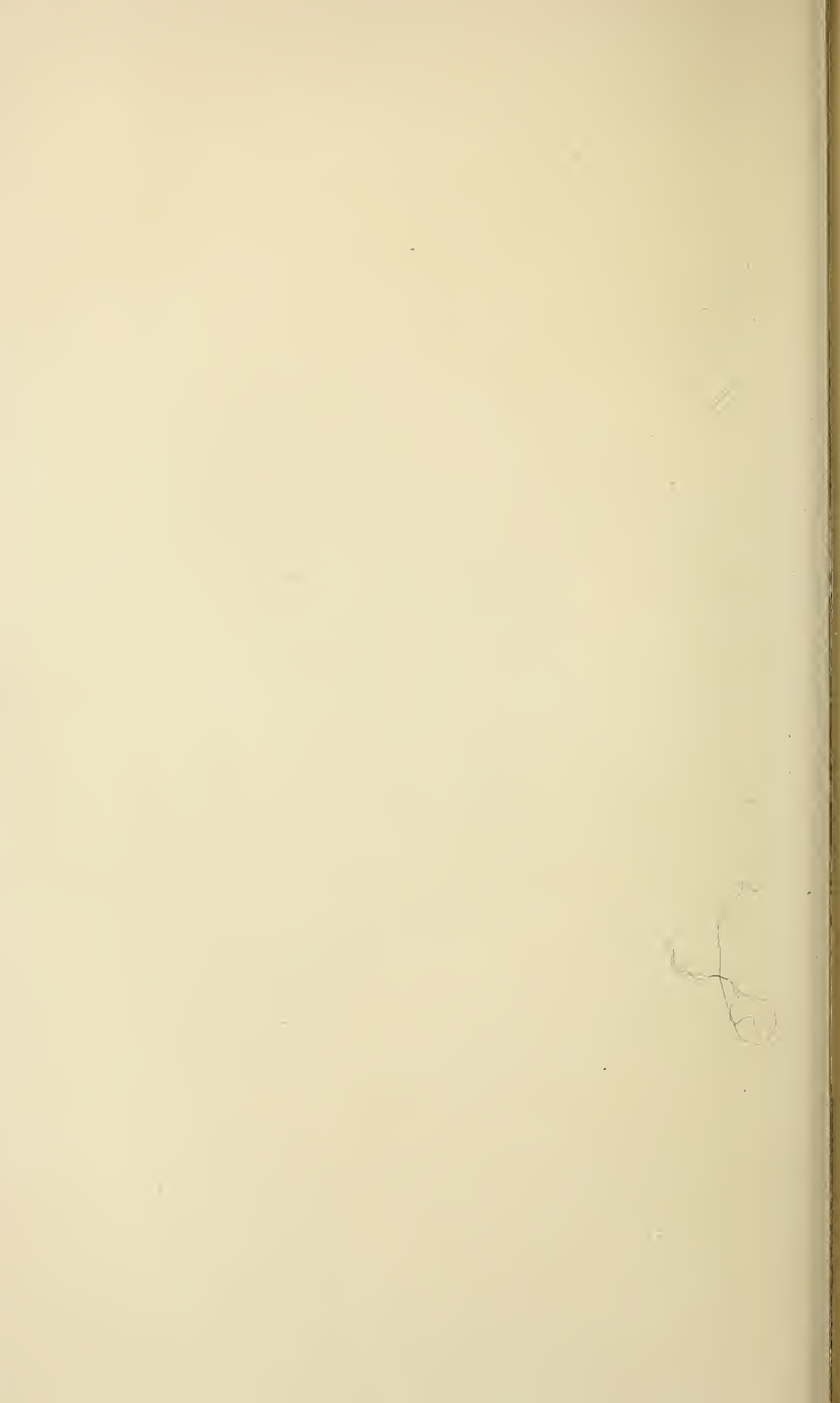
Passengers.

Benjamin Crowninshield, jr.

George Crowninshield, owner.

Capt. Edward Allen, from Salem, for St. Michael's.





APPENDIX.

NOTE ONE.

Salem Gazette, Jan. 14, 1817.

[Copied from Boston Evening Gazette.]

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

"THE elegant equipment of this vessel, by Mr. Crowninshield, for a voyage of pleasure, as it is an entire novelty in this country, has excited universal curiosity and admiration. Whilst she was lying at the wharf in Salem, we have heard she attracted company from various surrounding places to view so perfect a specimen of nautical architecture and sumptuous accommodation. Eighteen hundred ladies, it is asserted, visited her in the course of one day. Cleopatra's Barge measures about 200 tons, and is modelled after one of the swiftest sailing ships which was ever driven by the wind. Being introduced on board, you descend into a magnificent saloon, about 20 feet long and 19 broad, finished on all sides with polished mahogany, inlaid with other ornamental wood. The settees of the saloon are of splendid workmanship; the backs are shaped like the ancient lyre, and the seats are covered with crimson silk velvet bordered with a very wide edging of gold lace. Two splendid mirrors, standing at either end, and a magnificent chandelier, suspended in the centre of the saloon, give a richness of effect to it, not easily surpassed. Instead of berths on the sides of this hall, there are closets for the tea equipages and suit of plate for the dinner table, which are finished in a style of superior elegance. The after cabin contains sleeping accommodations for the under officers of the vessel. The owner's and captain's state rooms are very commodious. The conveniences for the kitchen's and steward's apartments may be considered models in their way. There are aqueducts in all parts of the vessel which require them.

"The intention of Mr. Crowninshield, we understand, is to proceed in the first instance to the Western Islands, thence thro' the Streights of Gibraltar, and following the windings of the left coast of the Mediterranean, will touch at every principal city on the route, which will be round the Island of Sicily, up the Gulph of Venice to Trieste, along the coast of Albania and the Morea, through the Grecian Archipelago to the Dardanelles; if permitted by the Turkish authorities he will proceed through the Sea of Marmora to Constantinople; thence coasting along the ports of the Black Sea, to the Sea of Asov, he will return by the way of the Isle of Cyprus, upon the south side of the Mediterranean; stop-

ping at Acre, Jerusalem and Alexandria on his way, and sailing by the Coast of the Desert to that of the Barbary states. Emerging from the Streights he will proceed through the British Channel and North Sea, up the Baltic to Petersburg, thence along the coast of Norway to the North Cape, and perhaps into the White Sea; from this point he may go to Spitzbergen and Iceland, and thence crossing an immense ocean to the coast of South America, touching at various ports he will complete the tour of his destination, and arrive at Salem.

"It is much to be desired that a gentleman of scientific attainments, historical research and literary taste, may accompany Mr. Crowninshield in his expedition. The multiplied objects of natural curiosity, which will be presented to the traveller, on such a tour, would afford materials which, if well digested and arranged, would do credit to the country, and confer permanent celebrity upon a voyage, which, without such a narration, will dwindle into a topic of idle curiosity, and final insignificance."

[January 15.—The Cleopatra's Barge made a trial trip to Gloucester and returned to Salem the next day.]

NOTE TWO.

Salem Gazette, May 27, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Extract of a letter from Mr. George Crowninshield on board the Cleopatra's Barge, to his friend in this town dated

"Fayal, 24 April, 1817.

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you with my progress thus far. My vessel fully answers my expectation and the mode in which she is rigged far surpasses it. Twenty-four hours after our departure we met with a gale of wind from the N. E. that lasted nine hours, brought our vessel under fore-sail, close-reefed top sail, main stay sail and two-reefed main sail. Two hours after a heavy snow fell, which compelled us to take in the main sail, the wind at that time having veered two points Northerly, she then being in the trough of the sea going eight knots and perfectly dry and easy; met with no injury. I have a good crew and they enjoy themselves perfectly."

NOTE THREE.

Salem Gazette, Sept. 26, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman on board the Cleopatra's Barge.

"Barcelona, June 8.

"You have undoubtedly heard of our movements in the Mediterranean; indeed you must have heard of us, from every place at which we

have touched — for the Cleopatra's Barge is more celebrated abroad than at home. Even the Moors of Tangier visited us tho' they abhor the Christians. At Gibralter the Englishmen were astonished. In Malaga, Carthagena and this place the Spaniards have been thunderstruck. For these four days past the whole of this great city has been in an uproar. They begin to crowd on board at daylight, and continue to press upon us till night. This morning the Mole was so crowded with people waiting to come on board, that we have been obliged to get under weigh, and stand out of the Mole, yet the boats, with men, women and children, are rowing after us. Thus it has been in every place we have visited. In Port Mahon, we were visited by all the officers of our squadron.

"Yesterday we were amused with one of the processions of the Church. It was a splendid show. The whole was preceded by eight giants, four men and four women, gorgeously dressed. Then followed music, friars, priests, people with lighted wax torches, children dressed in muslin and gold, having wings on their shoulders, and strewing flowers in the way. Then the mystery of the real presence, carried on the shoulders of priests and others, burning before it. This retinue was two hours in passing, and the innumerable flags, standards and gilt devices were almost indescribable."

[The Cleopatra's Barge arrived at Leghorn, July 15.]

While in the straight of Gibraltar the boy Perkins fell overboard from aloft: Capt. George Crowninshield in the cabin at the time heard the cry of "man overboard." He rushed on deck and into the dingey which he endeavored to lower with the assistance of some of the men. The dingey was overturned and Captain George thrown into the sea. Finally he and Perkins were rescued by the yacht's gig; but only after being a long time in the water. [B. W. C.]

Extract from the DIARIO DI ROMA published at Rome in August, 1817, Reprinted in the Essex Register, Oct. 11, 1817.

"Soon after the visit of the fleet, anchored in our port a schooner from America, of a most beautiful construction, elegantly found, very light, and formed for fast sailing, constructed and armed like our light armed vessels. It was named the CLEOPATRA, belonging to a very rich traveller, George Crowninshield, of Salem, who constructed her for his own use, and for the voyages he had undertaken in company with Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield, his cousin. Besides the extreme neatness of every thing about the vessel to fit her for sea, her accommodations were surprising and wonderful. Below was a hall of uncommon extent, in which the luxury of taste, the riches and elegance of the furniture, the harmony of the drapery, and of all the ornaments, inspired pleasure and gallantry. The apartment of the stern was equally rich

and interesting. Five convenient Bed chambers, displayed with the same elegance, were at the service of the Captain, with an apartment for the plate of every kind, with which it was filled. Near was another apartment, which admitted all the offices of a kitchen, and in it was a pump with three tubes which passed through the vessel, to supply water from the sea, or discharge what they pleased, with the greatest ease. The rich and distinguished owner had with him besides his family servants, several linguists, persons of high talents in music, and an excellent painter. Everything to amuse makes a part of the daily entertainment. The owner and Captain were affable, pleasing and civil, and gave a full evidence of the talents, the industry and the good taste of their nation, which yields to none in good sense and true civility. The above travellers having complied with the usual rules of the City, and having expressed the due respect to the Apostolical Delegate, upon receiving a particular invitation, he visited the Cleopatra in company with many persons of distinction, and partook of an elegant collation."

NOTE FOUR.

From the Essex Register.

SALEM, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1822.

[*The following extract is translated from a French work published at Genoa in 1820, lately received in this country, entitled "Correspondance, Astronomique, Géographique, Hydrographique, et Statistique, du Baron de Zach." The author is well known as one of the first astronomers in Germany, and stands high in the literary and scientific world.*]

"How does it happen that the Commanders of French vessels, with thirty-four schools of Hydrography established in the Kingdom, either know not, or do not wish to know, how to calculate the longitude of their vessels by Lunar distances, while even the *cooks and negroes* of American vessels understand it?

"Agreeably to my promise, p. 513 of 1st vol. of this Correspondence, I will now relate what I once witnessed on board an American vessel, the *Cleopatra's Barge*, which arrived in the month of July, 1817, at the port of Genoa from Salem, one of the handsomest Towns in the State of Massachusetts, U. S. A., Lat. 42°35'20" N., Long. 73°9'30" W. All the city crowded to see this magnificent palace of Neptune; more than 20,000 persons had visited this superb floating palace, and were astonished at its beauty, luxury and magnificence. I went among others. The owner was on board; he was a gentleman of fortune of Salem, who had amassed great riches during the late war with Great Britain. He was brother to the Secretary of the Navy of the United States. This elegant vessel was built for his own amusement, after his own ideas, upon a plan and model new in very many respects, and was considered the

swiftest sailer in America. He had travelled or sailed for his pleasure in this costly jewel (*bijou*) that appeared more the model of a cabinet of curiosities than a real vessel. He had left America in this charming shell (*coquille*) for the purpose of visiting Europe and making the tour of the Mediterranean & had already touched at the ports of Spain, France, Italy, the Archipelago, Dardanelles, coasts of Asia, Africa, &c. We have since heard of the death of this gentleman, a short time after his return to Salem. His name was George Crowninshield—he was of German origin—his ancestor was a Saxon officer who, having the misfortune to kill his adversary in a duel, sought refuge in America. The captain of this beautiful vessel was a lively old gentleman, a cousin to Mr. Crowninshield—his son, a young man, was also on board. I shall not here enter into detail concerning the remarkable construction of this vessel, still less her splendor—the public journals have already noticed them.

“In making some enquiries respecting my friends and correspondents in Philadelphia and Boston, among others I mentioned Dr. Bowditch. ‘He is the friend of our family, and our neighbor in Salem,’ replied the old Captain. ‘My son, whom you see there, was his pupil; it is properly he, and not myself, that navigates this vessel; question him and see if he has profited by his instructions.’ I observed to this young man, ‘you have had so excellent a teacher in Hydrography that you cannot fail of being well acquainted with the science. In making Gibraltar what was the error in your longitude?’ The young man replied, ‘six miles.’ ‘Your calculations were then very correct; how did you keep your ship’s accounts?’ ‘By chronometers and by Lunar observations.’ ‘You then can ascertain your Longitude by Lunar distances?’ Here my young captain appearing to be offended with my question, replied with some warmth, ‘What! I know how to calculate Lunar distances! *Our cook* can do that!’ ‘Your cook!’ Here Mr. Crowninshield and the old Captain assured me, that the cook on board could calculate Longitude quite well; that his *taste* for it frequently led him to do it. ‘That is he,’ said the young man, pointing to a Negro in the after part of the vessel, with a white apron round his waist, a fowl in one hand, and a carving knife in the other. ‘Come here, John,’ said the old Captain to him, ‘this gentleman is surprised that you understand Lunar observations. Answer his questions.’ I asked, ‘by what method do you calculate Lunar distances?’ The cook answered, ‘It is immaterial—I use sometimes the method of Maskeleyne, Lyons, Witchel or Bowditch, but I prefer that of Dunthorne, as I am more accustomed to it. I could hardly express my surprise at hearing that *black-face* answer in such a manner, with a bloody fowl and carving knife in his hands. ‘Go,’ said Mr. Crowninshield, ‘lay aside your fowl and bring your books and journal and show your cal-

culations to the gentleman.' The cook returned with his books under his arms, consisting of Bowditch's Practical Navigator, Maskelyne's Requisite Tables, Hutton's Logarithms and the Nautical Almanack, abridged from the Greenwich Edition. I saw all the calculations this Negro had made on his passage, of Latitude, Longitude, Apparent Time, etc. He replied to all my questions with admirable precision, not merely in the phrases of a cook, but in correct nautical language. This cook had sailed as cabin-boy with Capt. Cook in his last voyage round the world, and was acquainted with several facts relative to the assassination of that celebrated navigator at Owhyhee, February 1779. 'The greatest part of the seamen on board the Barge,' said Mr. Crowninshield, 'can use the sextant and make nautical calculations.' Indeed, Mr. Crowninshield had with him many instructors. At Genoa he had taken one acquainted with Italian;—he had also on board an instructor in the French language, a young man who had lost his fingers in the Russian campaign. What instruction! what order! what correctness! what magnificence! was to be observed in this Barge! I could relate many more interesting particulars concerning this true Barque of Cleopatra!"

NOTE FIVE.

Essex Register, Oct. 22, 1817.

We are indebted to Capt. G. CROWNINSHIELD, of the *Cleopatra*, for the specimens he has afforded of the riches of Italy. His coins, antient and modern, medallions, bronze figures, marbles, granites, plasters and minerals, have added much to our knowledge of the natural as well as civil history of Italy. He has supplied us the best modern guides for the visits we may pay to the antiquities of the Roman cities and for Rome itself. The profile view of Rome from Monte Mario, has a very good general effect. The views of Rome have been of every description, but Pronti's Illustrations of Antient Customs from Antient monuments, advance our knowledge of Roman manners, and Bianchi's exhibition of the subjects of Raphael's Paintings in the Vatican, gives us the bold designs of that great Master; while Pinelli's Modern Customs and Manners assist a comparison of the state of society in antient and modern times. The reduced views of Rome of the present year, are well adapted to be a companion of the traveller, and to aid the recollection of the wonderful works of art he may have visited. When we leave Rome, we leave the parent of the fine arts in Italy, but we see the monuments of antient greatness in other cities to instruct us in the sublime power of example, while it displays itself to the astonished senses of the world. The four celebrated edifices of Pisa, which he visited, would have been known from their own greatness, but the knowledge we have from whence this surrounding greatness arose,

brings new glory to Rome, the parent of these arts, these riches, and this prosperity. The riches collected in our country begin to have the power of inspiration upon our citizens. The arts live together, and while we breathe the air of health, and command the conveniences of life, we aspire at the proudest monuments of our fame and of our virtues.

[The style is Dr. Bentley's.—Eds.]

Essex Register, Oct. 25, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Having noticed the attention paid to the American Barge Cleopatra, at Rome, we could not refuse the pleasure of assuring our friends that Capt. G. Crowninshield, had been equally successful in arresting attention in France. The following is an extract from a Letter dated at Marseilles, 14th July, 1817, from a person long residing in France: "Capt. G. Crowninshield left this port in the beginning of this month, for Toulon and Italy. During his stay here, thousands of both sexes were on board of his beautiful Vessel. Every day it was like a continual procession. It gave me the utmost pleasure, as the universal opinion was that no vessel could compare with this Vessel. I felt proud that such a splendid specimen of what could be done in the United States was thus exhibited in Europe. We consider it as an act of patriotism. The Vessel was admired. The exquisite taste in her apartments greatly astonished the French for their *amour propre* had inclined them to believe that only in France the true *goût* was known."

We have now unequivocal proof that the enterprise of Capt. C. was adapted to urge a proper attention to our country, and that it has been one of the successful attempts to make known the American people most favorably to the commercial world of Europe.

NOTE SIX.

Essex Register, Oct. 4, 1817.

SHIP NEWS.

PORT OF SALEM.

Friday, Oct. 3.—Arrived brig Cleopatra's Barge, Benja Crowninshield master, and Geo. Crowninshield passenger, having visited the following places, viz.: Flores, Fayal, St. Michael's and Madeira, in the North Atlantic Ocean; thence to Tangier, Gibraltar, Algeziras, Malaga, Carthage, Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn (from thence to Florence by land, through the beautiful city of Pisa), Porto Ferrajo, Port Rio, Port Longon, in the Island of Elba and Civita Vecchia (thence to Rome by land). On leaving Civita Vecchia for America, passed through the Straits of Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia.

The Cleopatra's Barge had a passage of 11 days from Civita Vecchia to Gibraltar, and twenty-seven from Gibraltar, having for ten days last past, experienced head winds and calms.

[She brought Gibraltar papers to 30th Sept. (*sic*) Quere, August, and a column of ship news.]

Essex Register, Oct. 4, 1817.

The celebrated BARGE OF CLEOPATRA has returned to our port. She has displayed in Europe the first example of a visit to European ports, in a vessel which had no other object than a view of the commercial cities which Europe contains. The visit is in the style of our American researches.

NOTE SEVEN.

Salem Gazette, Nov. 28, 1817.

DEATHS.

On Wednesday evening, very suddenly, on board the Cleopatra's Barge, CAPT. GEORGE CROWNINSHIELD, aged 51. Funeral from his brother John Crowninshield's house in Derby street to-morrow at 3 P. M. Friends and relations are requested to attend without a more particular invitation.

Same evening, SAMUEL CURWEN WARD, Esq., aged 50. Mr. Ward accompanied Captain Crowninshield in his late voyage in the Cleopatra, and has been confined ever since his return. His funeral will be at 3 o'clock this afternoon, which his friends are invited to attend.

Essex Register, Nov. 29, 1817.

On Wednesday evening, Captain George Crowninshield, aged 51, the late Navigator of the "Cleopatra's Barge," and eldest son of the late Merchant of Salem of the same name. He was born in Salem on the 28th May, 1766. To a very robust constitution, he united a very active temper, and he was from his youth the first in every enterprise, the most fearless of danger, and never sparing of himself in any labour he undertook. The employments of the sea were among his first cares, and no man earlier or better knew what belonged to practical seamanship. He was in early youth at sea, and had command of vessels, first in the West Indies, and then in the East. He was a commander in the West India trade as early as in 1790, and in 1794 sailed for India in the *Belisarius*, a well known ship of this port. With a band of brothers, all of whom possessed a full share of industry, with a variety of talent, he soon possessed the competence of wealth, and has ever since supported the character of generous charity, of a man ready in every danger, and of boundless resource at the moment, while he has expressed the most firm attachment to the Naval reputation of his Country.

His zeal for the Navy displayed itself in the transportation, at his

own expence, of the remains of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, of the Chesapeake, from the British Dominions to Salem, that they might be interred in the land of their nativity, and be embalmed by the tears of their country. After the late war, he determined to visit Europe, to which his employments at sea had never led him. He resolved to make the object of his voyage a display of our naval architecture, and of our ability to combine in the Ship not only all the conveniences, but all the luxuries of home. Without any other model than his own mind supplied, he produced the celebrated Cleopatra's Barge, which has been admired in both hemispheres, and accomplished in her all he wished, and after a visit to Rome, he returned to the place of his nativity. Upon his return his iron constitution seemed to have lost its strength, and he had such affections of the breast as obliged him to put himself under the care of his physician. He still retained all his cheerfulness, and apparently his agility, but his complaints returned oftener than before. On the day he died, he enjoyed himself at every meal, and received his friends at his table in the Barge, and had his usual frugal supper in her. Just before he expired, he complained not of pain, but of fainting, and in an instant fell, without one sign of remaining life.

Few men were more generous, and very few had a greater share of confidence. No man knew the practice of his profession better, and no one who knew him denied that he had great virtues. Every citizen recollects him with affection.

Funeral from his brother John Crowninshield's house in Derby street this afternoon at 3 o'clock—relatives and friends are invited to attend.

It is a singular circumstance that Capt. G. Crowninshield expired on the same evening and at the same hour with Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward, Merchant of Salem, who was his companion in the voyage in the Cleopatra. He was the senior brother of Capt. Richard Crowninshield, who lost his factory, in his absence, on the morning of the preceding day at Danvers.

[Doubtless from the pen of Dr. Bentley.—Eds.]

NOTE EIGHT.

The next page exhibits, in *fac-simile*, a portion of the advertising columns of the Salem Gazette, for July 21, 1818.

Salem Gazette, July 28, 1818.

The famous Cleopatra's Barge, formerly belonging to Captain George Crowninshield, deceased, was *knocked off* yesterday at 15,400 dollars, to his brother, Capt. Richard Crowninshield. Her extra furniture, valued at about 7 or 8,000 dollars, was first taken out.

Half of the privateer ship America was also sold *under the hammer* at the same time for 4,000 dollars, belonging to the same concern.

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Rev. Joseph

3 vols.

OUSE.

United States
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On Saturday, 25th inst. at 10 o'clock.

Will be sold at Auction,



A new **SCHOONER**, about
70 tons burthen, built of oak,
high deck and well calculated
for the southern business. She
now lies at Briggs' wharf, South Salem, where
she may be inspected. For further particulars
inquire of **JOSEPH HOWARD**,

WHO HAS FOR SALE,

A few bags white Sugar, of
good quality, and 30 bags Coffee.

Brig Cleopatra's Barge.

On Monday, the 27th inst. at 12 o'clock,

AT INDIA WHARF,

Will be sold at Auction, per order of the
administrators to the estate of the late
Geo. Crowninshield, deceased,



The elegant, well built
and fast sailing brig Cleopa-
tra's Barge, burthen about 200
tons. As this vessel has been
so frequently viewed by the people of this vi-
cinity and strangers in general, a more partic-
ular description is unnecessary.

—ALSO—



One half of the ship **A-**
merica, armament and appur-
tenances. This Ship was a
successful cruiser in the last
war with Britain.

—ALSO—

One half of sloop **Jefferson**, and appur-
tenances.

These vessels, with their inventories, may
be examined at any time previous to the sale.

T. DELAND, Auct.

Salem, July 14, 1818.

Next MONDAY, at 9 o'clock,

At Thordike Deland's Office,

FRANKLIN PLACE,

(Per order of the administrators to the estate
of Geo. Crowninshield, deceased)

\$39,566 64 in the United States

Six Per Cent Stock.

26 Shares Union Marine Insurance Company.

11 do. Salem Marine do.

5 do. Massachusetts State Bank Stock.

DAY, the 25th
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MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 43.)

MRS. Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, after the death of her husband, married Jonathan Waldo, and her will is recorded in the probate office of Alfred, Maine. In it she bequeaths to her son John, "all that wrought plate which he has already received," also to her son Nathaniel "all the plate of which I shall die possessed, or shall not have disposed of and delivered in my life time to those to whom the same may be conveyed." She wills to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk her "Suit of Masquerade Damask," in return or offset for a "suit of silk cloths" given to her daughter-in-law Jane (Porter) Sparhawk.

They are to have her wearing apparel equally divided between them. Her sons Rev. John Sparhawk of Salem, Mass., and Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Kittery, Maine, to have her estate, real and personal, divided between them. This was dated Kittery, Maine, July 12, 1749, and probated Mar. 31, 1755. It is probable that she was residing with her son Nathaniel.

This is further changed by a codicil in which she gives one hundred pounds old tenor, or the value thereof in other money to her granddaughter Priscilla Sparhawk.

44 Hannah Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Edmund Frost, Feb. 1, 1710-11. Cambridge, Mass.

- 132 Hannah, bapt. Oct. 26, 1712; m. Samuel Bowman, Mar. 20, 1745-6; d. Apr. 25, 1794.
- 133 Elizabeth, bapt. Feb. 22, 1712-13; m. John Goddard, Feb. 19, 1734; d. Apr. 4, 1786.
- 134 Edmund, jr., bapt. June 12, 1715; m. Sarah Rand, Aug. 9, 1750; probably d. 1777.
- 135 Stephen, bapt. 18 Jan., 1718-19; grad. Harvard College, 1739; d. Aug. 9, 1749.
- 136 Jonathan, bapt. Feb. 20, 1720-21; probably d. in infancy.
- 137 Gideon, bapt. June 14, 1724; m. Sarah Ireland, Jan. 18, 1753; d. June 30, 1803.

Edmund Frost, sr., was residing in Kirkland St. at the time of his death, which occurred Nov. 6, 1752. Mrs. Hannah (Cooper) Frost died May 15, 1767, æ. 83 years.

45 Lydia Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Jonathan Gove, Dec. 26, 1706. Cambridge, Mass.

- 138 John, b. Nov. 2, 1707.
- 139 Mary, b. Mar. 3, 1709-10; m. John Walker, Oct. 28, 1731.
- 140 Lydia, b. Aug. 22, 1712; m. Jona. Wellington of Weston, Jan., 1730-31.
- 141 Kezia, b. Apr. 17, 1715; m. Deacon Jos. Loring, 1735.
- 142 Hannah, b. Feb. 27, 1717-18; m. Thos. Goddard, Jan. 3, 1738-9; d. March 18, 1799.
- 143 Sarah, b. Dec., 1720; d. Jan. 20, 1720-21.
- 144 Jonathan, jr., b. Feb. 16, 1721-22; d. same day.
- 145 Jonathan, jr., b. Oct. 23, 1723; d. same day.

Mrs. Lydia (Cooper) Gove died at Weston, Mass., Apr. 18, 1740. Her husband, Jonathan Gove, married a second time, and his second wife survived him. His son John administered on his estate in 1747.

46 Sarah Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Ephraim Frost, jr., Sept. 9, 1714, the brother of Edmund Frost, her sister Hannah's husband, both of Cambridge, Mass.

- 146 Ephraim, b. July 10, 1715; m. Mary Cutter, 1739; d. March 5, 1799.
- 147 Samuel, b. Dec. 18, 1716; m. A. Cutter, 1741; d. Sept. 30, 1798.
- 148 Sarah, b. Jan. 2, 1718-19; m. Moses Harrington; d. May 12, 1759.
- 149 Anna, b. Dec. 15, 1720; m. Thos. Adams, Sept. 22, 1737; d. Oct. 6, 1740.
- 150 Martha, b. Aug. 4, 1722; m. Jos. Adams, jr., Jan. 10, 1740; d. Dec. 23, 1749.
- 151 Eunice, b. July 19, 1724; d. Apr. 10, 1732.
- 152 Abigail, b. Apr. 25, 1726; m. Mr. Carter.
- 153 William, b. Nov. 13, 1727; d. Feb. 13, 1727-8.
- 154 Lydia, b. Aug. 8, 1729.

Ephraim Frost, sr., died June 26, 1769. Mrs. Sarah (Cooper) Frost died Feb. 21, 1753.

50 Walter Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Martha Goddard, daughter of Benjamin and Martha (Palfrey) Goddard, June 7, 1722. Cambridge, Mass.

- 155 Walter, bapt. Mar. 31, 1724; d. in infancy.
- 156 Walter, bapt. Feb. 23, 1728-9; m. Lydia Kidder, Mar. 13, 1755; d. April 1, 1756.
- 157 Benjamin, bapt. Feb. 8, 1729-30; d. in infancy.
- 158 Martha, b. Jan. 2, 1733-4; d. in infancy.
- 159 Samuel, bapt. Nov. 28, 1736; d. in infancy.
- 160 Martha, bapt. May 7, 1738.
- 161 Benjamin, bapt. Feb. 10, 1740-41; d. 1760.
- 162 Nathaniel, bapt. Apr. 14, 1742.
- 163 Samuel, bapt. Aug. 25, 1745.

Walter Cooper, sr., died Sept. 27, 1751. Mrs. Martha (Goddard) Cooper died April 10, 1768, æ. 65.

51 John Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Lydia (daughter of Solomon) Prentice, April 6, 1721. They had no children and he died Mar. 13, 1723-4. His wife, Mrs. Lydia (Prentice) Cooper, married Thomas Kidder, April 8, 1725.

52 Jonathan Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Sarah, daughter of Solomon Prentice, Oct. 25, 1732, Cambridge, Mass.

164 Jonathan, b. Mar. 23, 1734-5; m. Mercy Prentice, 1755-6.

165 Sarah, b. Sept. 5, 1736.

166 Samuel, b. Feb. 18, 1738-9; m. Hannah Geohegan, Mar. 19, 1763, *s. p.*; d. Sept. —, 1765.

167 Simon, b. July 24, 1741.

168 Daniel, b. Aug. 7, 1743; m. Lydia Mullett, May 9, 1764.

169 Solomon, b. Feb. 9, 1745-6.

170 Lydia, b. Apr. 24, 1748; m. Samuel Cox, Nov. 16, 1768, *s. p.*

Jonathan Cooper, died in Charlestown, 1766, probably in that portion near "Porter's," which is now embraced in Cambridge and formerly called "Cooper's Corner."

53 John Cooper, son of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Hannah Johnson, Oct. 21, 1725.

171 John, b. Jan. 22, 1727-8.

172 William, b. Jan. 11, 1729-30; d. in infancy.

173 Anna, bapt. April, 1732.

John Cooper, sr., died April 15, 1733.

55 Elizabeth Cooper, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Samuel Andrew, April 10, 1741. There is no evidence that they left any children. Winthrop calls him a "preacher," but this has yet to be proved. Administration was granted on his estate May 18, 1747.

56 Anna Cooper, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Joseph Carter of Woburn, Mass., Feb. 12, 1718-19.

174 Anna.

Mrs. Anna (Cooper) Carter, probably died before 1735-6, as only her daughter is mentioned in the will of John Cooper, probated at that time.

65 Nathaniel Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Ann ——.

175 Nathaniel, b. ——; m. Phoebe Frost, Apr. 11, 1751.

176 Benjamin, b. ——; m., 1st, Lydia Convers, Apr. 7, 1757;
2nd, Sarah Hall.

177 Richard, b. ——; m. Hannah Winship, Mar. 20, 1760.

Nathaniel Francis, sr., lived in Medford, Mass., and afterward removed to Charlestown, where he died Sept. 2, 1764, leaving his wife Ann (who died at Mason, N. H., Dec. 31, 1777, æ. 74) and the three sons above named.

66 Samuel Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Mary ——.

178 John, b. ——; m. ——; d. before 1778.

179 Samuel, b. ——; m. ——; d. before 1778.

180 Lydia, b. ——; m. Ebenezer Blunt.

181 Mary, b. ——; m. William Tufts, Feb. 8, 1750.

182 Hannah, b. Nov. 28, 1726; m. Mr. Dickson, June 16, 1748.

183 Sarah, b. 1729; m. A. Smith.

184 Rebecca, b. ——; m. Aaron Blanchard.

Administration was granted to Aaron Blanchard on the estate of Samuel Francis, sr., Dec. 1, 1778, in which it appeared that all his family but his daughters Lydia, Mary and Rebecca were dead.

67 Anna Francis, daughter of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Benjamin Dana, July 23, 1724.

185 John, b. July 10, 1725; m. Abigail Smith, 1748.

186 Anna, b. Nov. 25, 1726; d. April 20, 1727.

187 Anna, b. March 5, 1727-8; m. Jonathan Kenrick, March 2, 1748-9.

188 Benjamin, b. Feb. 10, 1729-30; d. young.

189 Mary, b. ——; ——.

190 Benjamin, b. June 7, 1734.

191 Francis, b. Feb. 6, 1737.

192 Stephen, b. 1740; m. Eleanor Brown, Sept. 16, 1762; d. Oct. 15, 1822, s. p.

Benjamin Dana, sr., was a captain and died June 5, 1751, æ. 62. His wife survived him.

68 Joseph Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Elizabeth ———.

193 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 7, 1736; prob. d. unmarried.

194 Lydia, b. Dec. 12, 1737.

195 Joseph, b. July 17, 1741.

Joseph Francis, sr., died in Medford, Mass., Feb. 1, 1749. Mrs. Elizabeth Francis, died Dec. 2, 1786. Apparently no more than these facts have been placed on record, concerning this branch of the Francis family.

71 Ebenezer Francis, the son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Rachel Tufts, Nov. 15, 1733.¹

196 Susanna, b. Nov. 28, 1734; m. Samuel Cutter, April 28, 1757; d. Dec. 19, 1817.

197 Abigail, b. Oct. 6, 1736.

198 Lucy, b. March 12, 1738-9; m. Edward Wilson, Nov. 23, 1758;

199 Sarah, b. June 6, 1741; m. Thomas Wyer, March 8, 1766.

200 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 22, 1744; m. Judith Wood, 1766; d. July 7, 1777.

201 William, b. April 20, 1746.

202 Thomas, b. July 15, 1748; m. S. Hill, July 11, 1771.

203 Aaron, b. Feb. 16, 1750-51; m. ———; d. 1825.

204 John, b. Sept. 28, 1753; (Col.); d. July 30, 1822.

Ebenezer Francis, sr., died July 16, 1774.

72 Katherine Graves, daughter of Hon. Thomas and Sybil (Avery) Graves, married Hon. James Russell, April 13, 1738.

205 Charles, b. Jan. 7, 1739; m. Elizabeth Vassall, Feb. 15, 1768.

206 Thomas, b. April 18, 1740; m. Elizabeth Henley, May 2, 1765.

207 Katherine, b. Aug. 29, 1741; m. Samuel Henley —, 1762.

208 Rebecca, b. Aug. 28, 1743; d. young.

209 James, b. July 7, 1745; d. young.

¹"Medford Genealogies," p. 16.

- 210 Rebecca, b. Feb. 26, 1747; m., 1st, James Tyng; 2nd, Jno. Lowell, Jan., 1778.
- 211 James, b. Feb. 7, 1749; m. Mary Lechmere, Sept. 22, 1780.
- 212 Sarah, b. Dec. 2, 1750; d. unm., Oct. 14, 1819.
- 213 Mary, prob. b. —, 1752; d. unm., July 24, 1806.
- 214 Chambers, b. Dec. 3, 1755; d. Charleston, S. C., Mch. 16, 1790.
- 215 Margaret, b. Dec. —, 1757; m. Hon. Jno. Codman, July 15, 1781; d. March 12, 1789.

Mrs. Katherine (Graves) Russell died Sept. 13, 1778.

73 Margaret Graves, daughter of Hon. Thomas and Sybil (Avery) Graves, married Samuel Cary of Charlestown, Mass., Dec. 24, 1741.

- 216 Samuel, jr., b. Sept. 20, 1742; m. Sarah Gray, Nov. 5, 1772; d. Aug. —, 1812.
- 217 Thomas, b. Oct. 18, 1745; grad. Harvard College, 1761; m. Esther Carter, May 25, 1775; d. Nov. 24, 1808.
- 218 Jonathan, b. Oct. 21, 1749; shipmaster; died at sea.
- 219 Abigail Coit, probably b. 1751.

This is a somewhat more complete record than is found in Wyman's History of Charlestown, Mass., to which the compiler has been enabled to add from hitherto unpublished sources. The name Graves in the original records was spelled *Greaves*, but for uniformity's sake was changed to the modern spelling. Mrs. Margaret (Graves) Cary died Oct. 8, 1762. Samuel Cary, sr., died Nov. 28, 1769.

74 Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Edward and Rebecca (Coolidge) Wigglesworth, married Prof. Stephen Sewall, Aug. 9, 1763.

- 220 Stephen, jr., b. Jan. 1, 1768; — Dec. 26, 1768.

Mrs. Rebecca W. Sewall died Dec., 1783. Prof. Stephen Sewall died July 23, 1804, aged 71.

75 Rev. Prof. Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., son of Rev. Edward and Rebecca (Coolidge) Wigglesworth,

married Margaret, daughter of Thos. and Hannah (Cushing) Hill, in 1765.

221 Margaret, b. Dec. 28, 1766; m. Rev. Jno. Andrews, Sept. 8, 1789.

222 Mary, bapt. Nov. 13, 1768; — Aug., 1784.

223 Edward Stephen, bapt. Nov. 13, 1771; H. C., 1789; — Aug., 1790.

224 Thomas, b. Aug., 1773; — Aug., 1773.

225 Thomas, b. Nov. 2, 1775; m. Jane Norton, Apr. 28, 1803.

Mrs. Hannah (Hill) Wigglesworth died in April, 1776.

Rev. Edward Wigglesworth married, second, his cousin Dorothy Sparhawk, June 6, 1778 (see 81). Mrs. Dorothy (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth died Aug. 25, 1782, and in Oct., 1785, he married a third time Miss Sarah Wigglesworth.

We have not found so far any record in print of his death or of that of his third wife.

78 Samuel Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Joanna (Winchester) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Gardner, Mar. 23, 1758.

226 Mary, b. Dec. 17, 1758; m. Isaac S. Gardner, June 13, 1784.

227 Joanna, b. Apr. 6, 1764.

228 Samuel, b. Feb. 10, 1766.

Samuel Sparhawk was a descendant, through his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, of Dep. Gov. Thomas Danforth; of Lieut. John and Elizabeth (Bowles) White through his mother. Through his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, he was also a descendant of the Rt. Hon. Sir Oliver St. John of Clayshoe, Kn't, Devonshire, England. His great grandfather, Rev. Jos. Whiting, was a graduate of Harvard College in 1761 and preached forty-three years at Southampton, Long Island,¹ where he died. His mother, Mrs. Joanna (Winchester)

¹ MSS. in possession of Edward A. Bowen.

Sparhawk, died June 26, 1786, more than twelve years after her husband (see 31).

79 Joanna Sparhawk married Col. Thomas Gardner, June 12, 1755.

229 Richard, b. ———; m. Hannah Goldthwaite.

230 Thomas, b. ———; d. young.

231 Thomas, b. ———; m. Hannah Gardner, 1790.

232 Samuel, b. ———.

233 Elizabeth, b. ———.

Col. Thomas Gardner was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and died July 3, 1775. Mrs. Joanna (Sparhawk) Gardner died Nov. 24, 1794.

82 John Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Joanna (Winchester) Sparhawk, married Mary Bacon, Oct. 29, 1767.

234 Benjamin, b. Jan. 6, 1769; m. Emma Martin.

235 John, b. July 24, 1770; m. Mrs. E. M. Sparhawk; d. Apr. 12, 1861.

236 Samuel, b. Feb. 3, 1773.

237 Mary Stacey, b. Apr. 26, 1775; — Oct. 5, 1777.

238 Thomas, b. Feb. 2, 1779.

In the record of his parents' children John Sparhawk was erroneously entered as marrying a Miss Jacobs. Through the kindness of a descendant we have since been enabled to correct that error and present the above as correct. Mrs. Mary (Bacon) Sparhawk died April 17, 1783, aged 32 years. Her husband and his brother owned land in Groton, Townsend, Cambridge and many other places.¹

86 Mary Sparhawk, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, married Isaac Gardner, jr., April 26, 1753.

¹ MSS. in possession of S. E. Sparhawk, Marblehead, Mass.

239 Isaac Sparhawk, b. ———; m. Mary Sparhawk (see 226), June 13, 1784.

240 Joannua, b. ———; m. Thomas Gardner (see 231), 1790.

241 Samuel, b. ———.

242 Susanna, b. ———; m. Dr. Wm. Aspinwall.

Isaac Gardner was son of Isaac and Susanna (Heath) Gardner. He and his wife are reported to have had ten children, but the four here named are all that have been definitely and authentically located. Isaac Gardner, jr., was surveyor in 1751, 1755, 1775, grand juror in 1758, and was put upon many patriotic committees. Finally, to quote from the Brookline church records (in the town, where he lived and died), "Isaac Gardner lost his life at Cambridge fighting for the Liberties of his Country, as the British Troops were on their retreat from the Battle of Concord." This was April 19, 1775.

Mrs. Mary (Sparhawk) Gardner was a granddaughter on the maternal side of Bethiah Fuller, who married Nathaniel Oliver, Jan. 14, 1730-1.

89 Hon. Thos. Sparhawk married Rebecca Stearns, second daughter of Rev. David Stearns July 10, 1758.

243 Thomas, b. Apr. 12, 1760; m. Octavia Frink, 1791.

244 Rebecca, b. July 17, 1762; m. Josiah Bellows, 1788; d. 1792.

245 Oliver Stearns, b. July 23, 1764; d. Oct. 18, 1765.

246 Oliver Stearns, b. July 16, 1771; D. C., 1793; m., 1st, H. S. Whitney, Nov. 3, 1798; 2nd, Naomi Sparhawk, 1819; d. July 6, 1824.

247 Mary, b. 1773; m. J. Bellows, 1793.

248 Jno. Stearns, ———; D. C., 1796; d. 1800.

249 Jonathan Hubbard, b. 1781; D. C., 1802; m. C. Porter, 1814; d. 1819.

250 Samuel, b. 1786; m. Sophronia Brown, 1807; d. 1835.

Hon. Thomas Sparhawk died in 1802. He graduated at Harvard College in 1755; settled the same year in Lunenburg as a teacher. Removed to Walpole, N. H., in 1769, where he was Clerk of the Court and Judge of Probate.

93 Abigail Sparhawk, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, married, second, Palsgrave Wellington, M.D. (pub. Nov. 28, 1772).

251 Mary Oliver, b. 1773.

252 Penelope, b. 1784.

253 Lucy Sparhawk, b. 1788.

254 Nancy, b. 1789.

255 Christiana, b. ———.

256 Abigail, b. ———.

257 Edmund, b. ———; D. C., 1811; d. 1823.

Palsgrave Wellington, M.D., died Aug. 29, 1808.

101 John Sparhawk, M.D., son of Rev. Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Perkins) Sparhawk, married, first, Elethea Webster, second, Elizabeth Smith.

258 Eliza Perkins, b. ———; m. Hon. Joel Jones.

259 Thomas, b. ———; m. Catharine Passmore.

260 Eletheia, b. ———; m. A. Gordon; d. 1845.

261 Elizabeth, b. ———; d. April 5, 1784.

262 John, b. ———; d. Oct. 5, 1785.

263 John, b. ———.

264 Elizabeth, b. ———.

John Sparhawk, M.D., of Salem, Mass., at first; who we were erroneously led to believe married Elizabeth Perkins, married twice, and the correct names are given here, through the kindness of a descendant. He removed to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, about 1750; there in 1761 he was among those who signed the famous "Non-Importation Articles" which are on file in Independence Hall.

103 Nathaniel Sparhawk, son of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married Lydia Blake (published June 16, 1753).

265 John, b. Sept. 10, 1753; d. 1791.

266 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 23, 1755; m. Miss Pierpont; d. 1847.

267 George (M.D.), b. April 21, 1757; H. C. 1777.

268 Noah, b. April 29, 1759; m. Miss Brintnall.

269 Blake, b. April 12, 1761; m. Anna Dana, Dec. 18, 1786.

270 Lydia, b. April 10, 1763; d. y.

Mrs. Lydia (Blake) Sparhawk died Sept. 27, 1766.

Nathaniel Sparhawk married, second, Hannah Murdock of Newton, Mass. (published Nov. 12, 1767).

271 Edward, b. Nov. 29, 1770; m. E. Murdock, 1804.

272 Katherine, b. ———; prob. d. unmarried.

273 Thos. Gardner, bapt. Nov. 5, 1775; d. y.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was selectman, 1772–1775, and died Oct. 1, 1777.

Mrs. Hannah M. Sparhawk died Jan. 27, 1826, æ. 83.

104 Noah Sparhawk, jr., son of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married Abigail Frink.

274 Abigail.

275 Cotton.

276 Enos.

277 Hull.

278 Justin.

279 George, b. 1757; d. 1783.

Noah Sparhawk, jr., married, second, Lydia Whipple.

105 Martha Sparhawk, daughter of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married John Hancock, Nov. 20, 1760, Cambridge, Mass.

280 John.

281 Nathaniel Sparhawk.

282 Martha.

John Hancock, sr., was a goldsmith and resided part of the time in Cambridge and part of the time in Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Nathaniel and Joanna Hancock who were of Cambridge, Mass., as early as 1634. He was second cousin to John Hancock the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

107 Rev. Ebenezer Sparhawk, son of Noah and Priscilla Brown Sparhawk, married Abigail (third daughter of Rev. David and Ruth (Hubbard) Stearns), Sept. 1, 1763.

283 Ebenezer, b. May 28, 1764; m. A. Jepherson; d. Oct., 1836.

284 Henry, b. April 26, 1766; m. Lucinda Lamb; d. 1813.

285 Thos. Stearns, b. June 26, 1768; d. July, 1769.

286 Thos. Stearns, b. May 18, 1770; D. C., 1791; m. Mary Kinsman, 1795, and d. 1807.

Mrs. A. S. Sparhawk died April 21, 1772, aged 34 years.

Rev. E. Sparhawk married, second, Naomi, daughter of Rev. Abr. Hill of Shutesbury, Mass., Dec. 2, 1773.

287 Abraham, b. Jan. 20, 1774; d., unmarried, April 7, 1819.

288 Abigail, b. Dec. 26, 1775; m. Josh. Richardson; s. p.

289 Priscilla, } b. May 13, 1777; { m. Col. Joseph Lee, Sept. 19, 1800.

290 Naomi, } m. O.S. Sparhawk; Sept. 15, 1819.

291 Noah, b. Aug. 20, 1780; d. unmarried.

292 Elizabeth, b. July 9, 1782; m. Samuel Lee, June, 1804; s. p.

293 George, b. Oct. 8, 1784; d. Mobile, Ala. — 1804.

294 Samuel, b. July 23, 1786; m. Mary Hudson 1820; d. 1835.

Rev. Ebenezer Sparhawk was born in Cambridge, Mass.; graduated from Harvard College, in 1756. He was a teacher four years, and began to preach in Charlestown, Mass., Jan., 1760. In Nov., 1760, he went to Templeton Mass. and Nov. 18, 1761, he was ordained pastor of the church in town. He died there, Nov. 25, 1805. Mrs. Naomi (Hill) Sparhawk, his second wife, died March 21, 1829.¹

110 Simon Sparhawk, jr., son of Simon and ——— (Stoughton) Sparhawk, married Lydia Brown.

295 Lydia, b. ———; m. Samuel Rathbone, March 1, 1785.

¹Bond's "Watertown," pp. 546-547.

112 Priscilla Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Sept. 2, 1755.

- 296 Nathaniel, b. June 13, 1759; m. Sarah Putnam, Apl. 17, 1791; m., 2nd, Elizabeth Cleveland, Apl. 12, 1803; d. Aug. 8, 1806.
297 Abigail, b. — 1761; m. Wm. Orne, March 24, 1780; d. May 20, 1813.
298 John, b. Jan. 10, 1763; m. Abigail Ropes, June 10, 1784; m. H. Haraden, Dec. 11, 1787; d. July 9, 1828.
299 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 28, 1764; m. Jon. Hodges, Mar. 30, 1788; d. Aug. 30, 1840.
300 Jane, b. Jan. 22, 1767; m. Sam'l C. Ward, Oct. 31, 1790; d. Jan. 18, 1803.
301 Samuel, b. — 1773; d., unmarried, at sea, Sept. 21, 1794.

Mrs. Priscilla S. Ropes died in Salem, Mass., Mar. 19, 1798.

Judge Nathaniel Ropes died Mar. 18, 1774.

Nathaniel Ropes, sr., was born May 20, 1726. He was an only child; his parents were Nathaniel and Abigail (Pickman) Ropes, and he was graduated from Harvard College in 1745. In 1761 he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County. In 1766 he was Chief Justice, and in 1772 was promoted to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature. He was also a representative and a member of the Executive Council, also Ruling Elder of the First Church. He died of small pox in the prime of life. A full account of him is given in Vol. VII of "The Essex Institute Historical Collections," pages 153-154.

114 Catherine Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married (her own cousin) Nathaniel Sparhawk, jr., of Kittery, Maine.

- 302 Nathaniel, b. —; d., unmarried, 1830.
303 Wm. Pepperrell, b. —; H. C., 1789; d., unmarried, 1817.
304 Eliza, b. —; m. Andrew Spooner; d. 1802.

305 Susan, b. —; d., unmarried, 1803.

306 Catherine, b. —; m. Daniel Humphreys, jr., June, 1794; d. 1805.

They were, part of their lives, residents of Salem, Massachusetts.¹

Mrs. Catherine (Sparhawk) Sparhawk died in Kittery, Maine, in 1778; her children and husband survived her. Of her husband's second and third marriages a full account will be found by referring to number 126. Of the five children by this marriage, Nathaniel the eldest died unmarried in Weathersfield, Vermont, at the residence of Hon. Wm. Jarvis. The latter had married his half sister Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, and offered his brother-in-law a home with him which was accepted. The second, Nathaniel, jr., died in York, Maine, and was interred in the tomb of his great grandfather Sir Wm. Pepperrell at Kittery, Maine. Eliza Sparhawk married Andrew Spooner, and her descendants are the only ones to-day who remain of these five children by her father's first marriage. Her sister, Susan Sparhawk, went abroad and nursed her father through a long illness in London, and died there in 1803. Catharine Sparhawk, the youngest of the five, married Daniel Humphreys, jr., a son of Daniel and Mary King Humphreys, and maternally descended from Richard the brother of President John Cutts, through the Kings and Vaughans. The line of her descendants died out in the first generation.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was appointed in 1773 to the Council, but declined to serve.²

115 John Sparhawk, the son of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married Abigail King, January 12, 1769.

¹ Sabine's "Loyalists of the Am. Revolution," p. 323.

² Sabine's "Loyalists of Am. Revolution," p. 323.

- 307 John, b. Dec. 2, 1769; m. Miss Craig.
- 308 George King, b. June 22, 1771; m. A. Humphreys, June, 1794; d. June, 1848.
- 309 Thomas, b. June 17, 1773; d. young.
- 310 Mary, b. April 28, 1775; d. Sept. 29, 1783.
- 311 Samuel, b. Aug. 13, 1777; m. Elizabeth McKinsty, 1803; d. Nov., 1834.
- 312 Susannah, b. Mar. 18, 1779; d., unm., 1863.

Mrs. Abigail King Sparhawk was the daughter of William and Mary Vaughan King and a great granddaughter of Richard, the brother of President John Cutts of Portsmouth, N. H. She died February 18, 1825, in the eighty-seventh year of her age. Her husband died Sept. 22, 1787, having been speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, and many years selectman in Portsmouth, N. H. An interesting account of his life will be found in "Life and times of William Jarvis by Mrs. Mary P. S. Cutts," pp. 426-7.

116 Samuel Sparhawk married ——— ———.

- 313 Samuel, jr., b. ———.
- 314 Eliza, b. ———.

118 Jane Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married John Appleton of Salem, Mass., Oct. 6, 1767.

- 315 Henry, b. 1768; d. 1823.
- 316 Jane, b. 1770; d. 1791.
- 317 Jno. Sparhawk, b. 1775; m. Mary Lander; d. 1824, *s. p.*
- 318 Margaret, b. 1777; m. Willard Peele; d. 1838.
- 319 Nathaniel, b. 1779; m. Elizabeth Ward; d. Dec. 21, 1818.
- 320 William, b. 1781; d. 1802.

120 Susannah Sparhawk, the daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married George King Atkinson, May 12, 1771. Her husband's name was originally George King; a brother of Abigail King, who

married John Sparhawk. By the provisions of the will of Hon. Theodore Atkinson, he inherited his property upon condition that he assumed the name of Atkinson, which he did. They had no children, and her will which we herewith give, in part, reads as follows :

"I give and bequeath to my nephews Wm. K. Atkinson, John Sparhawk and Thomas Sparhawk, all my public securities, monies in the funds, notes of hand, bonds, debts of every kind due to me ; judgements, executions and mortgages, to be equally divided between them my said nephews in equal thirds, share and share alike.

To Daniel Humphreys, Esq., my brother-in-law, one hundred pounds, and my house and land, shop, wharf, &c., at Puddle Dock in Portsmouth.

To my beloved brother Samuel Sparhawk, £40 *per annum during his life*. To his son Samuel Sparhawk, jr., £50, to be paid in six months after my decease. To his daughter Eliza Sparhawk £50, to be paid in six months after my decease. To the relict of my dear departed brother John Sparhawk, £30 *per annum during life*. To my nephew John Sparhawk, my dwelling house, garden and all my household furniture and plate (except what is hereinafter bequeathed), my book case, books, my horses and my carriages.

To my nephew Geo. King Sparhawk, my plain silver oval waiter, my largest silver teapot and teaspoons with the 'King' crest.

To my nephew Thomas Sparhawk, the land fronting my dwelling house, and also my mowing field at the creek ; also I give him £100.

To my nephew Samuel Sparhawk my pasture land at the Creek.

To my niece Susannah Sparhawk £40 sterling. To my

nephew Daniel Humphreys, jr., the field this side the creek with the barn on it, and £30 and 2 small silver salvers.

To my nephew George Humphreys the lot near my coach house which is now hired of me by Abner Blaisdell. It is my will that my protegee Eliza Winslow be suitably provided with apparel, schooling and all other conveniences, until she attains the age of eighteen; and at 20, or sooner if married, the sum of £60 sterling.

To my sister Priscilla, my suit of black satin, and my black laced shade.

To my niece Peggy Appleton, daughter of my sister Jane, my suit of Brussells and my leather wrought fan. To my nephew Wm. K. Atkinson, the family pictures, my silver wrought bread basket, my largest silver tankard, my new silver plated tea-Urn, 1 case Silver handled knives and forks, my largest Wilton carpet, also sundry books.

To my niece Katy, my white Satin cloak trimmed with ermine. Sister-in-law Abigail aforesaid, my black satin cloak trimmed with broad lace. To Deborah, wife of Nathaniel Sparhawk, my suit of Dove colored Satin.

All the residue and remainder of my estate to my nephew aforesaid, John Sparhawk, and his heirs forever. Nephews John and Thomas Sparhawk to be joint executors of the will.

Signed in presence of

A. R. CUTTER.

WM. CUTTER.

ABIGAIL MITCHELL."

There are numerous minor bequests of jewels, watches, apparel, etc., to sundry persons, not necessary to enumerate.

THE GOV^R ENDECOTT ESTATE.

GOVERNOR ENDECOTT'S WILL.

The last will & Testam^t of John Endecott Senior late of Salem now of Boston made the second day of the third moneth called May 1659. | as followeth. |

I John Endecott being (through the grace & mercie of God) at this present in health & of sound memorie doe make this my last will & testam^t as followeth. |

Imp^rimis I giue to my Deare & Louing Wiefe Elizabeth Endecott all that my ffarme called Orchard lying wthin the bound^s of Salem together wth the Dwelling Howse, out-houses, Barnes, stables, Cowhouses, & all other building & appurten^ances therevnto belonging & appertayning, And all the Orchards nurseries of fruit trees, gardens, fences, meadow & salt marsh therevnto apptayning, And all the feeding ground^s & arrable & planting ground^s there, both that w^{ch} is broken vp & that w^{ch} is yet to break vp. As also all the timber trees & other trees for wood or other vses. together wth all the swamps therevnto belonging or apptayninge during her naturall life. |

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my moueable good^s w^{ch} are at Boston in the howse I now dwell in. viz. all my bed^s bedsteedes. bolsters pillowes Coverletts. blanketts ruggs courtaynes & vallence & all furniture belonging to them of one kinde or another and all my carpetts cush-eens & all goods of that nature. Also I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my table board, table liñing, cubbard^s cubbard clothes stooles, truncks chests, or any other good^s now in my possefsion viz. pewter brafse, Iron, Andirons, spitts. Also I giue vnto her all my siluer plate & spoones of one kinde & another And all my Linnen of what sort soeuer.

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my ruther cattle of one kinde & another as also all my sheepe, & all my wearing clothes w^{ch} shee may bestow on my children as shee shall see good, Also I giue vnto her all my bookes whereof shee may bestow on my two sonnes such of them as they are capable to make vse of & the rest to be sold to helpe pay my debts.

Also I giue vnto her my said wiefe my howses at Salem & the ground belonging vnto them, And all the good^s there w^{ch} are myne, leaving to my wiefe full power to Dispose of them whether howses or good^s as shee shall see good. Also I giue vnto my said wiefe all such debts as are due or shalbe due vnto me at the day of my deſture, either from the Countrie or from any pson or psons inhabiting in this Countrie or in England or elsewhere.

Also I giue vnto her Catta Iland neere Salem (w^{ch} the generall Court gaue me,) during her naturall lief, & after her decease to my twoe sonnes. John & Zerobabel or to the longest liuer of them.

Also I giue to John Endecott my eldest sonne. the farme w^{ch} I bought of Henry Chickerin of Dedham (w^{ch} I formerly bestowed on him) lying wthin the bound^s of Salem

And all howses & land^s whether meadow or pasture or arable land as it is conveyed vnto me in an Indenture bearing Date the fowerth day of the eigth moneth Anno 1648. And the said Indenture or conveyance to be Deliuered vnto him & the said land wth the appurten^{ances} to be to him & his heires foreuer. |

Itm I giue to him & to my younger sonne Zerobabel the whole ffarme called Orchard to be q^{ted} indifferentlie betweene them after the decease of my said wiefe

Also I giue vnto Zerubbabl a farme out of the farme lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer contayning three hundred acres whereof ffortie acres is meadow lying along the playne by the rivers side next to Zacheus Gould his land w^{ch} lyeth

by the brooks side that runneth into Ipsw^{ch} riuer at the furthest end of the playne. |

Itm I giue vnto my said Loving wiefē my eldest mare w^{ch} she was wont to ride on & her eldest mare foale

Item I giue vnto my sonne John Endecott the horse coalt that now runs wth the mare. |

Also I make my wiefē sole & onelie executrix of this my last will & testam^t, And doe desire that Elder Pen & Elder Coleborne will be the overseers of this my last will, & if God should take either of them out of the world: That the longest liuer of them hath heereby libertie wth my wife's consent to choose another overseer vnto him.

And whereas the generall Court hath giuen vnto me the fourth pt of Block Iland, I doe heereby bequeath it vnto my said wiefē to helpe pay debts wthall If I dispose not otherwise of it before I dye.

Itm I giue vnto my said twoe sonnes John & Zerubbabel the twoe farmes I bought, the one of Captayne Trask, the other of Captayne Hawthorne lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer next adioyning to my farme vpon the said riuer.

Itm I giue all the rest of the land belonging to my farme vpon the said riuer w^{ch} is not disposed of to my twoe sonnes John & Zerubbabel, my eldest sonne to haue a Double portion thereof

Also I giue vnto John Endecott & Zerubbabel all the Land w^{ch} was giuen me by the twoe Sachems of Quinebaug: my Eldest sonne to haue a Double portion thereof.

Itm I giue to my grandchild John Endecott Zerobabel his sonne, Ten pownds w^{ch} is to be payed him when he is one & Twentie yeares of age. Also that Land I haue bequeathed vnto my twoe sonnes in one place or another my will is that the longest liuer of them shall enioy the whole except the Lord send them children to inherit it after them

Itm I giue vnto M^r Norrice teacher of the Church at

Salem xl^s. & to Mr Wilson pastor of Boston xl^s & to Mr Norton, teacher xl^s.

Itm I giue to the poore of Boston fflower pound^s to be disposed of by the Deacons of the Church.

Jo. Endecott Seal with arms
and a horse, stag or lion
rampant for crest.

Indorsed: The last will & testam^t of me Jo: Endecott

1665. Courts gratuity to M^{rs} Eliz. Endecott, relict to
25 May y^e late Gou., 160th.

The Court judgeth it meete in remembrance of the good service of the late John Endecot, Esq^r, Go^uno^r, & the condition of his relict, to order the Treasurer of the country to discharge the charge of wine, cakes, toombe, & powder expended on the late funerall of the late Go^uno^r, & that M^{rs} Endecot, his relict, be pajd & satisfied out of the country treasury one hundred & sixty pounds, by æquall proportions, by the Tresurer, in fīue yeares the whole; sixty pounds whereof was in consideration of hir expence of seventy pounds in mourning cloaths for herself, children & family.

The County Court last at Boston hauing presented to them this Instrument & finding that y^e differenc betweene the mother & y^e Eldest sonne about y^e probat thereof to be such as their determination would not be rested in Referred it & w^t both could say to the Courts determination.

The māgists hauing duely perused this last will & testamen^t of the late Honoured Gou^eno^r written. Signed Sealed & Subscribed by his owne hand apparently knowne to be his owne hand writing together wth the testimony of w^m Salter. & y^t it was made in the time of his health & mem-

ory & y^t it was showne to him in the forme as now it is together wth the evidence of m^r Houchin. The magest Doe Allow & Approove thereof to be the last will & testament of the sayd Jn^o Endecott Esq. late Gouverno^r their brethren the deputjes hereto Consenting

Edw Rawson Secrety

The County Court last at Boston having presented to them this Instrument & finding that the difference be-
tweene the mother & the Eldest Sonne about the probat
thereof to be such as their determin would not be rested
in : transferred it & what both of them could say & pro-
duce thereabouts to the Generall Courts determination =

The magis^{ts} hauing Duely pervsed this Instrument the
last will & testament of the late Honoured Gouverno^r writ-
ten signed & Sealed by his owne hand (apparently knowne
so to be) together wth the testimony of w^m Salter attesting
that it was made in the time of his health. & memory, &
that it was shewne vnto him in the forme as now it is : and
also pervsed wha^t hath binn tendered by m^r Houchin to
Invalidatt the same : The Magists Judge it meete to de-
clare that they doe allow & approve of this Instrument to
be the last will & testament of the sajd late John Endecot
Esq^r : their brethren the deputjes hereto consenting.

This was voted. by y^e magis^{ts} Edw Rawson Secrety
insteed of what is aboue written.

The Deputy's Consent
not with o^r Hono^{ed} magis^{ts}
in approueing of this In-
strument as a Will

William Torrey Cleric.

The Deput^s Judge meete to
referre the Ifsue of this
case to the next sestion in
october & y^t all p^{sons} Con-
cerned attend the same re-
ffering to the Consent of o^r
Honrd magis^{ts} hereto

William Torrey Cleric

Voted by the whole Court together that they doe no^t approoue of this Instrument to be the last will & testament of the late Jn^o Endecott Esq^r Gouverno^r: 17: octobe^r 1665

q Edw. Rawson Secrety

COURTS FINALL JUDGM^T TO SETLE Y^E LATE
GOV^R ENDECOTS ESTATE.

Att a Generall Coart of Election held at Boston : the 23th May : 1666 &c.

In ans^r to a peti^{ti}on exhibited to this Court by M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot, the relict of the late hon^d Governo^r, Jn^o Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, * * * and Zerubbabell Endecot, their sonnes, for setling the estate of the sajd John Endecott, deceased, according to an instrument, (on file wth the records of this Court,) to which the hand & seale of the sajd John Endecot, deceased, is annexed, bearing date May 2^d, 1659, after a full hearing of all partjes concerned in the sajd estate, (*i.e.*,) the sajd M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot & hir two sonnes, M^r John & M^r Zerubbable Endecot, M^r Jeremiah Houchin, being also present in the Court & respectiue^{ly} presenting their pleas & evidences in the case.

For a final issue whereof, this Court doeth order, & judge meete to declare, that the sajd estate shall be divided betweene the aboue sajd widdow & hir two sonnes, according to the aboue sajd writing on file provided alwajes whereas the farme called Chickering's was by deed of sale or guift made ouer to M^r John Endecott sundry yeaes before the date of the aboue sajd instrument to haue & to hold the same to him, his heires, & assignes foreuer,—

This Court doe judge meete to order & declare, that the sajd John Endecott shall enjoy the same to him his heires, & assignes foreuer, (any thing in the aboue sajd writing that may seeme to contradict the same notwthstanding.)

And also whereas there doeth appeare to be lesse provision made for the wife of the aboue named Mr John Endecott then may seeme æquall, or was the reall intent of the abouesajd John Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, who had during his life speciall favor & respect for her,—

This Court doeth order, that M^{rs} Elifabeth Endecot, the now wife of the aboue named Mr John Endecot, in case she shall surviue the said John, hir husband, shall injoy all that estate of houses & lands mentioned in the aboue saj^d instrument, as bequeathed to the saj^d John, hir husband, during hir naturall life, (not suffering any strip or wast to be comitted on the same,) anything contained in the aboue named instrument notwthstanding.

And this Court doeth also order & declare, that whereas the abouesajd M^{rs} Elifabeth Endecot, widdow of the aforesajd John Endecot, Esq^r, deceased, is seized, according to the abouesajd instrument, of the goods & chattells of the saj^d John Endicot, Esq^r, her late husband, deceased, in case shee shall dye seized to the value * * * more then eighty pounds st^r, q^{te} thereof * * * the same shall be divided betweene her sonnes, Mr John Endēōt & Mr Zerubabel; and the saj^d John, being the eldest sonne, shall haue a double porcōn thereof. Finally, this Court doth impower the saj^d M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot, relict, widdow of the aboue named John Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, sole administratrix on the estate whereof he djed seized, she bringinge in a true inventory thereof to the next Court for the county of Suffolke, & discharging all debts due from the saj^d estate.

Salem y^e 27. 2^{mo} 65 —

We hose names are Vnder Writen being
Desired to prize the Estate of John Edecott
Esquire the Late Governor of the Masetu-
setts—

Impr The home farme together with the hous- li
ing orchards and fenses fue hondred and
fifty pownds 550

It to hondred & fifty Acors at a farme
Liing vpon Ipswich Riuer being part of a
farme giuen by the Country together with 080
the Meddow to it eighty £

It a house at the towne with three Acors
of Land to it one houndred pownd 100
It three Bedsteeds fue pownds 005
It fower oxen fue and twenty pownds 025
Eaight Cowes thirty two pownds 032
It three two year olds nine pownd 009
It six yearlings nine pownd 009
It fower Calues two pound 002

John Porter Total 815

Thomas Punchard

More in certeine tenn acre lotts y^t
m^r Endecott purchased of Seuerall
men to be made out & vallued =
more in two hundred & fifty acres of
vpland & meadow qt of y^t farme y^t ly-
eth in Topsfeild vndesposed of.

Itt 2 farmes in y^e Country purchast
of Maj^r Hawthorne & Cap^t Traske giuen
them by y^e Country 500 :

Ittm an Island called Catta Island
more for 9 mares horses & colts sold
to m^r Dauby at 53.10 00
an old mare remayning valued at 08 00 00

fue barreles of sidar at farm^r Por-
te^rs leakt out to 4 & on half
1 p^r of smale milstones

A debt in m^r Alcoks hand uncertajne

At A County Court held at Boston 13 febr 1666.
Mrs Elizabeth Endecot Deposed in open Court that these 3 papers Containe a true Inventory of the Estate of
the late Honrd Jno Endecot Esqr to hir best knowledge that when she knowes of more she will discover y^e same

Wearing App ^{ri} valued	50 00
in y ^e closet bookes &c	30
a clock	03
200 ac ^r s at Ipswich	80
m ^r Trask & m ^r Hauth ^r ns	
farmes	30
the tenn ac ^r lotts	80
1 p ^r pistolls	}
= Crosbowes & fouling peec	
27 Decemb 1666	

An Inventory of y^e goods & chattells of the Late
Honnored governo^r m^r John Endicot prized by the
Subscribers 3i (5) 65

Inprs : wearing Apparrell & mony	65-15-3
it in siluer plate seuerall peeces in all	10- 0-0
it in seuerall Remnants of broad Cloath	
kersey serge stuffe & some Linen	10-19-4
it one ffeatherbed w th ffurniture to it	15- 0-0
it 3 Chaires 2 stooles 1 Chest 1 Cup-	
bord & Carpet	i- 3-0
it a Deske Case of siluer hafted kniues	
& a Dyall :	i 14-4
it in seuerall small things	0-10-0

These aboue written are in y^e governor chamber

It in the Closet in bookes a sadle w th it	}	36- 0-0
ffurniture & some other small things		
it in Linnen of seuerall sorts ffor	}	17- 2-0
Bed & table & other sorts		
it one Curtaine a standinge bed Truckle		
bed w th ffeather beds, Boulsters &		
Rugges		10- 3-0
it a chest of Drawers another Chest a		
Truncke some Hose yarne & a pr of		
Tonges		01-9-10

	It in the garret 8 bushells of wheat by estimat ^o one bedstead feather bed boulster and Hangings an old Jacke & Hammacke	} 09-7 -0
<u>13 13-0</u>	it one fflowlinge peece broken steele bowes empty Cases of bottles & other thinges	} 04-6 -0
	it in the plour a Clocke	03- 0-0
	it pistolls & Holsters 20 ^s a Cubbord 30 ^s	02-10-0
	it 8 Chaires 42 ^s 8 ^d one stoole 4 cushions	02-12-8
<u>11-4-8</u>	it Table Carpet & 3 stooles 50 ^s And Irons 12 ^s	03- 2-0
<u>3 15-0</u>	it in the Hall a marble Table framed Table stooles chaire & Candlesticke Cast And Irons	} 03-15-0
	it in the Kitchin pewter 40 ^s Brafse pot 3 skellets 3 Iron pots one skel- let 40 ^s one copper 3 ^s Iron thinges about the ffyre 40 ^s	} 09- 0-0
<u>12-13-2</u>	it Seuerall other thinges	03-13-2
<u>12-13-2</u>	it a prentice boye 10 ^s a small bed for him 20 ^s	011- 0-0
<u>12-15-0</u>	it in the Cellar barrells & tubbs 20 ^s also y ^t were fforgotten some small thinges 15 ^s	} 01-15-0
		<hr/> 224-7-7

more in apeece of searg for a wascoat

a peece of silke	} all w ^{ch} m ^r Ende- cott Gaue to his wife to make hir Apparell seull yeares befor his Death
prunella	
a peece of mohaire	
& 4 yds of hol- land	

Indorsed :

John Wiswal } *Lfs*
Peter Brackett }

Inventory of Gour Endecott household.

in the garrett	
a qcell of wheat estimated 8 bush	01-12-0
it 2 empty Cases of bottles & 16 empty Round bottles	01- 0-0
it seuerall broken & old steele bowes & pistoll	01- 0-0
it an old Jacke — & a Hamacke	01-15-0
it 2 musketts one fflowling peece	02- 0-0
it one bed ffeather bed boulster & Hangings	06- 0-0
it 2 spinning wheles 6s	0-06-0
in the parlour a Clocke	03- 0-0
it y ^e pistolls & holsters	01- 0-0
it a cubbard	01-10-0
it a qpr of And Irons	00-12-0
it 4 Chaires 6s 8d	01- 6-8
it 4 Chaires at 4s q chaire	0-16-0
it one stoole & 4 cushions	0-10-0
it one Table & Carpet w th three stooles	02-10-0
in the Hall one table & 4 stooles	01-10-0
it one Chaire 5s a Candlesticke 2s	0-07-0
it one Marble table & 3 stooles	01- 0-0
it qpr Cast And Irons	0-18-0
in the Kitchin one kettle & warmeinge pan	01-10-0
it 2 morters qpr skales	01- 0-0
it wooden vefsells & trayes & siues	00- 6-8
it one Drippinge pan	00- 5-0
it 3 Iron potts & one skellet	01- 0-0
it one brafse pot & 3 skellets	01- 0-0
it in pewter seuerall sorts	02- 0-0
it q of and Irons tramells ffryinge pan spitts & all instruments about the ffyre	02- 0-0
It boxe Iron & heaters	0- 1-6
it a Copy 3 [£] & seuerall od thinges 10s	03-10-0
it a bed for the boye	01- 0-0
in the Cellar barrells & tubbs	01- 0-0

it one boye beinge prentice	10- 0- 0
more in a peece of searge for a wascoat	55-5-10
a peece of Silke prunella	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> all w^{ch} m^r Endecott gaue to his wife to make hir Apparrell seuerall yeares before his Death </div>
a peece of Mohaire &	
a 4 y ^r ds of holland	
	169- 2 9
	224 8 7

John Wiswal *Lfi*

THE WILL OF JOHN, ELDEST SON OF GOV^R JOHN ENDECOTT.

In the name of God Amen the 27th of January, one Thousand six Hundred Sixty & Seaven, I John Endicott of Boston in new England Eldest Sonn to the late John Endecott Esq^r & late Governor of the maſtathusetts Colony being sick of a sore throate & other distempers of body, but as well & perfect in mind & memory as Euer I was when I was in my best health, & greatest strength God bee prayſed doe make & Ordaine this my last will & Testament as followeth,

I doe willingly & with a free hart render & giue againe into the hands of my Lord God & Creator which hee of his ffatherly goodnes gaue vnto mee my spiritt when hee first fashioned mee in my mothers wombe, making mee a liuing & reasonable Creature, hoping in his infinit mercy towards mee in Jesus Christ, my Sauio^r & Redeemer and as for my body I commend it when Gods time is, with a free & good will to the Earth from whence it came there to bee buried with decent buriall by my Executrix herein nominated & hoping of a bleſſed & happie Resurrection at the great day, And whereas [*I for*] sooke all other women & joyned my selfe in marriage vnto [*my*] deare wife and wee twaine became one flesh, And shee has carryed her self

a louinge helpfull & painefull wife unto me I giue & bequeath vnto her my sayd wife all my whole estate [* * * * *] Personall, I say I giue & bequeath [* * * * *] *with my* house in Boston joyning to George B [* * * * *] & Appurtenances thereto belonging,

Also I giue & bequeath vnto my [* * *] all Lands * * * * of Salem the whole farme call [*ed Tarve*] lls farme * * * * & afixes foreuer,

Also I giue & bequeath vnto Elizabeth my said wife * * Chattles within & without dores where soeuer they sh * * all other Estate that belongs to mee both in reuersion * * to bee disposed by her foreuer, I doe Ordaine Appoint * -beth my wife, sole Executrix of this my last will * * * * I make my ffather in Lawe Jeremiah Howchin * * * * Saffin Ouerseers of this my last will.

John Endecott [*& a seal*]

Signed sealed & deliuered

in the presence of vs

Jeremiah Howchin

Nathaniell Green

Rob^t Bradford

Moses Bradford

the word well Enterlined & * * * fect blotted before signing

Att a meeting of the Gouvernour major Generall Joh * * * & Recorder in Boston the 24 ffeb: 1667

Jeremiah Howchin & Rob^t Bradford & Moses Bradf * * before the magistrates & Reccord^r, that hauing subs * * names as wittnesses to this instrument were present * * thereof, & did both see & heare the late m^r John [*Endecott*] signe seale & publish the same to bee his last * * -ment, that when hee soe did he was of a sound disp * * their best knowledge

Edw : Rawson Record

M^r Z. ENDICUTT, HIS WILL, 1684.

I Zerubabel Endecot, Sen^r, of Salem in the County of Essex in New England thorow the Lord's mercy being of perfect memory and understandinge do make this my last wil and testament November 23th 1683 : as followeth

Imprimis my wil is that Elifabeth my wife shal have made good unto her and enioy the estate made sure to her by way of dowry before marriage, and that she shal enioy my now dwellinge house so long as she shal be pleased to liue vpon the farme orchard.

Item. I giue vnto my two fons John and Samuel and to the heyres of their bodyes my farme orchard : reseruinge to the sayd Elifabeth my wife one third part of the sayd orchard farme duringe her life, the other two third parts I giue vnto my sayd two sons John and Samuel after my decease. and after the decease of the sayd Elifabeth my wife the other third part to be equally diuided betweene my sayd two sons John and Samuel and the diuision to be made by my ouerseers.

Item. I giue vnto my three sons Zerubabel Benjamin and Joseph my farme vpon Ipswich Riuer adioynninge to Topsfeild being five hundred and fifty acres to be equally deuided both vpland and meadow to be equally deuided betweene my sayd three sons.

Item. I giue vnto my fiae daughters (viz) mary Sarah Elifabeth and Hanna and Mehetabel to each of them fifty pound to be payd vnto them by my Executors as follow—viz

that all the rest of my land both in possession and reversion viz the land called the smal lots on the fouth of the playne belonging to the farme orchard—the myrie swamp at the head of the playne — the five hundred acres of Land bought of maior Hathorne and Capt. Traske with Catta Isle Land or any other Land belonging to me in any other place which I have not otherwise bequeathed with all my neat rother with all my moueable goods shal be inproued by my executors for the payment of my debts — my wiues Joynture, and the seuerall legacies to my five daughters and my wil is that all my houshold goods. that is to say my beddinge linen and wollen. and all such houshold goods as I doe not in this my wil dispose of shal be giuen to my five daughters to be Equally deuided among them as part of their seuerall legacies.

Item

I giue vnto Zerubabel my son one halfe acre of my Land lying in the Towne of Salem the other acre to be inproued by my executors for the bringinge vp of my two daughters Elisabeth and mehitabel

Item

I giue vnto my Son John al my Instruments and bookes both of phisicke and Chirurgery. and all the rest of my bookes of Diuinity I giue vnto the rest of my children to be equally deuided among them

Item.

where as my Late father by his last wil bequeathed vnto me his farme called Bishops or chickeringe farme I doe giue the sayd farme to my five sons to be equally deuided among them.

Item

my will is that in case the seuerall parcels of Land and moueable goods shal not amount so

far as to pay my debts. my wiues Joynture and Legacies. It shal be payd what remaynes out of the seural portions giuen to my fīue sons. but in Case it exceeds the sayd debts and legacies the ouerplus shal be diuided to each of my sons an equal share

Item I giue to Beniamen Scarlet fīue pounds and all the Land now in his possiession duringe his life

Item my wil is that in case eyther my son John or Samuel depart this life and leaue no heyres of their bodyes. then my wil is that the land giuen to them shal remayne wholly to the survivor he payinge to each of my fīue daughters twenty pound as likewise If any of my thre sons depart this life without heyres of their bodyes lawfully begotten then their part shal remayne to the suruiuer they payinge to each of my fīue daughters ten pounds — In absence of my executors my ouerseers undernamed haue ful power to act in the behalf of my two youngest daughters accordinge to this my wil

Item I consytute and appoynt my two sons John and Samuel to be the executors and my Louinge frinds Israel porter Joseph Hutchinson and Nathaniel ffelton Sen^r ouerseers to this my last wil and testament — And In witnesse that this is my Last wil and testament I haue hereunto set my hand and seale dated the day and yeare aboue written

Zerobabel Endecott

[Seal with arms
& a phoenix, griffin,
or displayed eagle
for crest.]

Signed and Sealed in the presence
of us

Nathaniel ffelton. Sen :

signum

Joane **I** Read

Leift Nathaniell felton & Jone Read Appeared in Court at Ipswich. 27th of March 1684 & made oth that they were present & saw Zerrobabell Endecote Signe Seale & he then declared the within written to : be his Last will & testament & that he was then of disposeing mind.

attest John Appleton. Cler^s.

An inventory of the moueable goods in the House of Mr Zerubabel Endecot deceased taken by vs whose names ar vnderwritten. Jan : 28th 168³/₄

In the New house in the hall

Imprimis 3 featherbeds. 2 bolsters. 4 pillows. 2 Rugs. 1 old carpet. a payre of red Curtayns and val-lons. a payre of streiked curtayns and vallons. a chest of drawers. a case of glasse botles. a stone table. a sea chest. 4 gold Rings [a Cabi-net. a case Lances. 2 Rasors. a box of Instru-ments. a dyal] 10 bookes in folio. 16 in quarto. 2 great chayers. 6 high Chayers. [2 guns. 1 Rapier. a Cupboord and a warming pan. a sil-uer salt. a siluer spoon. a siluer wine cup] 12 case Kniues with siluer hafts — a great trunke. 2 silke gownes. 2 diaper table cloths. a payre of sheets. 2 Cupbord cloaths. 12 diaper nap-kins. 7 caps that were the Gouvernours. 3 payre of fringed gloues. a bible. a laced Cupbord cloath. 2 bedsteads. a box smothing iron with

2 heaters. fire shouel and tongs. smal tongs. a saw with six Instruments for a Chirurgion. a curb bit. a brasse powder horne with a shot bag and belt. a powder horne. a copper hake. 3 urinalls. 3 earthen Pots. a bason. six Pewter platters. a bed pan. a tonnel. a brasse lamp. a looking glasse. an iron mortar. a metal mortar. a barrel of porke.

In the chamber.

A feather bed a bolster and two pillows—[a payre of silke curtaynes. a long carpet with a chest and in it 3 earthen dishes 4 earthen platters and six Jugs]

[a chest & in it 6 large peuter platters. 6 smaller platters. a lattin dripping pan, an Iron dripping pan, a brasse candlesticke. 2 pewter candlesticks. a great tin candlestick. a great salt. a little salt. 6 plates. a payre of copper scales & a box of trenchers]

[a Chest with linnen viz 2 payre of sheets. a diaper table cloth. 13 diaper napkins. 10 fine napkins. a nother diaper table cloth. a sheet with a seeming Lace. fue towels. 7 pillow beares. 1 silke scarfe. silke sleeues. an apron. a childs blanket with other childbed linnen. & 7 small pillows]

a chest of bookes & writings.

Item

2 oxen. 5 cowes. 2 2 yeare old. 2 yearelings. 1 horse. 4 swine. 16 spring pigs. Accordinge to estimation 80 or 90 bushels of Indian corne in loose eares. 5 turkeis. 2 tame geese.

In the Kitchine

Three brasse ketles. a bel metle pot. foure iron pots. an iron skillet. a brasse candlesticke.

6 hakes. 6 payre of pot hookes. 6 spits. 2 fenders. 2 fryinge pans. a payre of long Andirons. a payre of great Andirons in the parlour. 3 payles. 1 Lattin dripping pan. 1 sacke. 5 bush indian corne. a sadle, pillyon and pillyon cloath. an iron kette. a bason. a brasse skillet. a skimmer. an iron forke. a payre of bellowes. a Large iron dripping pan with feet.

In the Cellar

Sixteene empty barrells. 8 Jarres. a bowle. a payre of wooden scales. a set worke tub. $\frac{1}{2}$ bush salt. $2\frac{1}{2}$ empty hogsheads. 4 Cheese fats. 11 bar: wthon head apeice. a bag of hopps about six pound.

In the old house

1 Copper. an iron peel. a hand saw. 2 augers. a Jack. a payre of pruninge sheeres. an iron mil. 3 wheelles. a treuet. 2 old bedsteeds wth some old iron and other Lumber.

His wearing Apparell.

A blacke Coat wth Doublet and hose. 2 hatts. a lether coat. a payre of gloves. a payre of shoes. 3 payre of stockings. a camlet coat. a twilted gowne.

At Steuën fishes a warming pan.

at Tho: Keny a gun

at Nath ffelton inn a carbine

at Ben: skarlets a great chayne. a payre of brasse Andirons, and a payre of iron dogs. a gold ringe.

At Daniell andrews an Iron Crow.

at willyam Trasks a pewter Limbecke.

We whose names ar vnderwritten do present this list of the moveables belonginge to m^r Endecots estate as by

vertue of an order frome m^r Browne Esq^r & m^r Gedney,
Esquire

Nathaniel ffelton sen
Joseph Huchinson

An Inuentory of the Estate of m^r Zerobabell Endicott
Late of Salem Deceased taken by us whose names are un-
derwritten att the Request of Zerobabell Endicott Admin-
istrator to the affore sd estate : taken y^e 4th march 169⁶/₇

Imprimis	The ffarme called oarchard ffarme being by estimation aboute three hundred acres of upland swamps and mar- ishes to gether with all the build- ings fences and privillages there unto belonging : in the Tenure and occupation off walter phillips.	£b 1500 - Sh 00
It.	a ffarme of ffive hundred and fifty acre of upland and meadow Lying on both sides Ipswich River.	£b 650 - Sh 00
It.	The miery swamp so called be it more or Less att three pound q acre [being four acres—	£b 12 - Sh 00]
It.	A stone Table.	£b 03 - Sh 00.
It.	A grate Iron spitt	£b 00 - Sh 5
It.	Sundry things in the Hands of Hannah Endicott Relick widdow of Samuell Endicott, viz : a Chest of Drawers	£b 02 - Sh 00
It.	an old Iron pott Tramell and pott hooks Iron skillit old frying pan and box Iron	£b 00 - Sh 16
It.	an old warming pan and 2 old platers and old chairs	£b 00 - Sh 12

It.	an old driping pann old pestill and morter and small spitt and other old Iron	£b 01 - Sh 00
It.	The Reversion of Ten acres of Land or there abouts in the pos- session of Benjamin scarlett giuen to him by the said Deceasd During his naturall Life	£b 35 - Sh 00
It.	Two hundred acres of Land be- ing a Town grant Lying and being on the southerly side of the Gov- eners plaine so called being the most of it sold To severall persons by samuell Endicott	£b 400 - Sh 00
It.	fifty Two acres of Land Called the small Lotts: adjoyning to m ^r Reads ffarme and m ^r Dowinings ffarme being all sold to severall per- sons by John and samuell Endicott	£b 104 - Sh 00
It.	catt Island att the mouth of marblehead harbour sold by sam- uell Endicott To Richard Read	£b 30 - Sh 00
		<hr/> £ 2726 “ 13

John Putnam fen^rthomas fuller fen^r*Essex Sc.*

Thomas putnam

Before the Hon^{ble} Barth^o Gedney Esq^r Judge of probate
of wills &c^a for sd County march 15th 169⁹

Zerobabel Endecott Adm^{tr} of the Estate of Zerobabell
Endecot late of Salem dec^d made Oath that the aboue is a
true and perfect Inuentory of the Estate of the s^d dec^d to
the best of his knowledge & if more Comes to his knowl-
edge he will also giue an acct. of the same.

Sworne attst Jn^o Croade Reg^rJurat^r q^y Adm^{tr} Mrch 15 : 9⁹

WAS GOV. ENDECOTT'S HOUSE THE FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP?

It has been the accepted view, as stated with a qualified indorsement by the "Committee on the authenticity of the Tradition of the First Church,"¹ that our Puritan Forefathers "worshipped from 1629 to 1634, in an unfinished building of one story," and in the last named year erected the structure of which the skeleton remains to us.

The earliest authority known to the writer for the above statement, which was asserted by Felt without quoting authority therefor² may be found in Dr. Bentley's "Description of Salem," printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1799,³ and is in these words,— "An unfinished building, of one story, was used occasionally for public worship in Salem, from 1629 to 1634. A proper house was then erected by Mr. Norton, who was to have £100 sterling for it. The old church now stands upon the same spot." Dr. Bentley was not always accurate. Was he in this instance giving the weight of his authority, without examination, to a current tradition of his day, or had he sources of exact information now lost to us? It will be noted that while Dr. Bentley qualifies his statement with the word "occasionally," later writers have been less cautious.

In a copy of this Description of Salem, which was in the possession of that indefatigable antiquary, the late George A. Ward, as early as 1819, and was by him copiously annotated and presented to the Essex Historical Society in 1821, he comments on the above quoted passage in these words,— "The Town Records begin 26th 10th mo. 1636, so there is no positive proof of there having been a meeting house built in 1634 by Mr. Norton, for £100, or that the first house was unfinished." And it is not with-

¹See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. II, p. 145.

²Felt's Annals of Salem, 1st Edition, p. 72; 2nd Edit., Vol. II, p. 613.

³1st Series, Vol. VI, p. 226.

out significance that the mural inscription, which, in 1865, Mr. Ward caused to be placed upon the present First Church, utterly ignores the tradition of the "unfinished building."

Of the antiquaries who accept the "unfinished building" tradition, some of them place it near the first church location, and suppose it to have become a warehouse after the building of the meeting-house; others regarded it as the germ of the first fort, which stood near Sewall Street, and was known later as the Arbor or Harbor Fort.

But amongst the considerable accumulation of historical material printed in the "Colonial Series" of "English State Papers" for "America and the West Indies" some of it bearing largely on Gov. Endecott's famous mutilation of the British "Flag or Antient," will be found at Vol. I, page 194, a letter which James Cudworth of Citewat (Scituate) wrote in December, 1634, "to his verie lovinge & kinde father," Dr. Stoughton, and which perhaps puts the matter in a different light. These are his words.— "Some of the church of Salem have cut out the cross in the flag or antient that they carry before them when they train. Cap. Endecott, their Captain, a holy, honest man, utterly abandons it. His house, being the largest, is their Meeting-house, where they are as yet but 60 persons."

In May of that year, Capt. Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, wrote to Dr. Stoughton, "his dear brother" stating¹ that he supposes "he will hear much about the cross in the banners; it is true Capt. Endecott did deface it upon his own private head:" doubtless the same Dr. Stoughton above addressed.

The query suggested by Cudworth's use of the word "meeting-house" is whether he meant that the Governor's house was their place of worship or their place of *rendezvous* "when they train." Does he mean by "60 persons,"

¹ State Papers, Colonial Series, for America and the West Indies, Vol. I, p. 179.

sixty heads of families in the church, sixty men capable of bearing arms, or sixty attendants at divine worship? Or is Cudworth in error and speaking without sufficiently exact information?

THE SETTLEMENT OF BEVERLY.

In the year 1830, Israel Thorndike, jr., Esquire, was at the expense of procuring to be made, by Joshua Coffin of Newburyport, a fair copy of the first volume of the Records of the Town of Beverly. This he presented to the town and received a vote of thanks therefor at the March meeting of 1831.¹

At the end of the copy, Mr. Coffin inserted a sketch of the patriarch and pioneer of the town, Roger Conant, and Mr. Rantoul added a note signed by himself, and intended by him to correct some misconceptions entertained by Mr. Coffin. The note has value in connection with the question raised in Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., xviii, p. 307, is dated August 20, 1837, and is in these words:

"From depositions taken about 1681, in relation to Mason's claim, an abstract of which may be found in Felt's Annals of Salem, page 268, it appears that Conant and others first settled on Salem side, probably on the tongue of land between Collins' Cove and the North river, over which tongue of land Bridge street is now located. Conant afterwards removed to the other side of Bass river and continued to live on Bass river side, afterwards Beverly, till

¹ Town Meeting, March 14, 1831. Voted, on motion of Hon. Robert Rantoul, That the thanks of the town be presented to Israel Thorndike, junior, Esquire, of Boston, for his generous regard to the interest of the town, in causing the first volume of the records of the town to be substantially and handsomely bound, and also in having the same copied and bound in like manner, thereby doubling the probability of their preservation and by the copy rendering them easy of use and intelligible to all. That the Town Clerk be requested to communicate this Vote to Mr. Thorndike.

the time of his decease. It is probable, but it is not certainly ascertained, that the first settlement of Beverly was by the removal of John and William Woodberry (brothers) from Salem side to Woodberry's point, now sometimes called Curtis's point or Curtis Woodberry's point, in 1630.

"Roger Conant removed to Beverly side about the same time.

"Tradition says that the first frame house built in Beverly was on said point. This house was taken down, not many years since, by John Prince, who built a house in or near the same place.

"John Balch, another of Conant's companions, removed to Beverly side about the same time.

"Roger Conant's petition, [page 135, of Coffin's Copy of Town Records] will agree better with the above than with the note on the preceding page, which was made by Joshua Coffin.

"Mr. Coffin, in stating that Roger Conant and his associates first settled on Beverly side of Bass river followed the Rev. William Bentley's History of Salem, published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This history was written many years before Mr. Felt's Annals of Salem and it is manifest, by comparison, that Mr. Felt had access to ancient official papers not seen by Mr. Bentley. The depositions referred to throw much light upon this subject. The circumstance of Roger Conant's living on Beverly side of the river for nearly fifty years, and ending his days there, probably gave rise to a traditional story that he first settled there. A careful reading of Conant's petition I think must settle the matter. If he had first settled on Beverly side he certainly would have stated that circumstance as a reason why he should have the privilege of giving a name to the town, rather than that he was 'the first that had house in Salem.'"

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ROGER WILLIAMS HOUSE.

In the general disposition to "prove all things" which has cast a doubt over so many traditions once held sacred the ancient Roger Williams House has not escaped. But skepticism must give way before the known facts in this case. There are at least five independent lines of argument, each of which makes it reasonably certain that the estate in question, during the debated period, was the property of a Mr. Williams. "Mr" was not a mere title of courtesy in those days but had a well defined significance and a well guarded application.¹ The champions of the Williams House claim can well afford to rest their case here. If there were living in Salem between 1631 and 1636 some person named Williams other than Roger and entitled to the prefix Mr., which was in common use with the clergy, then we think it is incumbent on the doubters to produce that Mr. Williams and either show that he did own, or at least that he might have owned the estate in question. No such person is known to our local antiquaries.

That Roger Williams owned a house in which he lived, in Salem, appears from his letter to Major Mason in 1670² where he says "when I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children (in the midst of a New England winter now about 35 years past) at Salem, that ever honoured Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Nahigonset Bay" etc.

In a letter to John Winthrop in 1638,³ he says "I owe betweene 50 & 60 *li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities re-

¹ See Felt's Hist. Ipswich, p. 23; Felt's Annals of Salem, First Edition, pp. 56 and 523; Second Edition, Vol. I, pp. 165-6. Babson's Hist. Cape Ann, p. 116.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 276.

³ Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. VI, p. 230.

ceaved from Mr. Mahew. Mr. Mahew will testifie that (being Mr. Cradocks agent) he was content to take payment, what (& when) my house at Salem yealded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand, & he into Mr. Jollies" etc.

Reference to the history of this house is made in Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. viii, pp. 257-9, and Essex Institute Bulletin, Vol. ii, pp. 55-60. It is there shown that the records furnish a number of separate and independent proofs either of which it is thought would satisfy those acquainted with Salem antiquities, that the house and home of Roger Williams at the time he left Salem in 1636 was the house on the corner of North and Essex streets now preserved to us. They may be briefly restated.

I. We know from the evidence given in the Historical Collections, Vol. viii, p. 258, that this is the same house, though somewhat altered, which Jonathan Corwin bought, Feb. 11, 1674, from the administrators of the estate of Capt. Richard Davenport. That it was then an old house, built in the primitive style, appears from a study of the contract¹ then made for its repair taken in connection with its subsequent well known history. The western part of the front still presents its original appearance, and the lines of the ancient roof and the form of the rooms can still be traced. In 1714, Jonathan Corwin was allowed two shares in the common lands "for his house and Mr. Williams cottage right." That is to say, it was proved, in 1714, to the satisfaction of the Proprietors of the Common Lands in Salem that "Mr. Williams" had lived before 1661² where Jonathan Corwin was then living.

II. The ten acre lot in the Northfield which went with

¹Bulletin, Vol. ii, April, 1870, pp. 55-7.

²Acts of General Court, May 30, 1660. Province Laws, Act of Nov. 16, 1692-§3. Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. xix, pp. 241-53. Town Records of Salem, 1679-1728, Vote of June 16, 1702. *Ibidem*, Vote of Feb. 2, 1714.

this house in the sale to Corwin is shown to have belonged to "Mr. Williams."

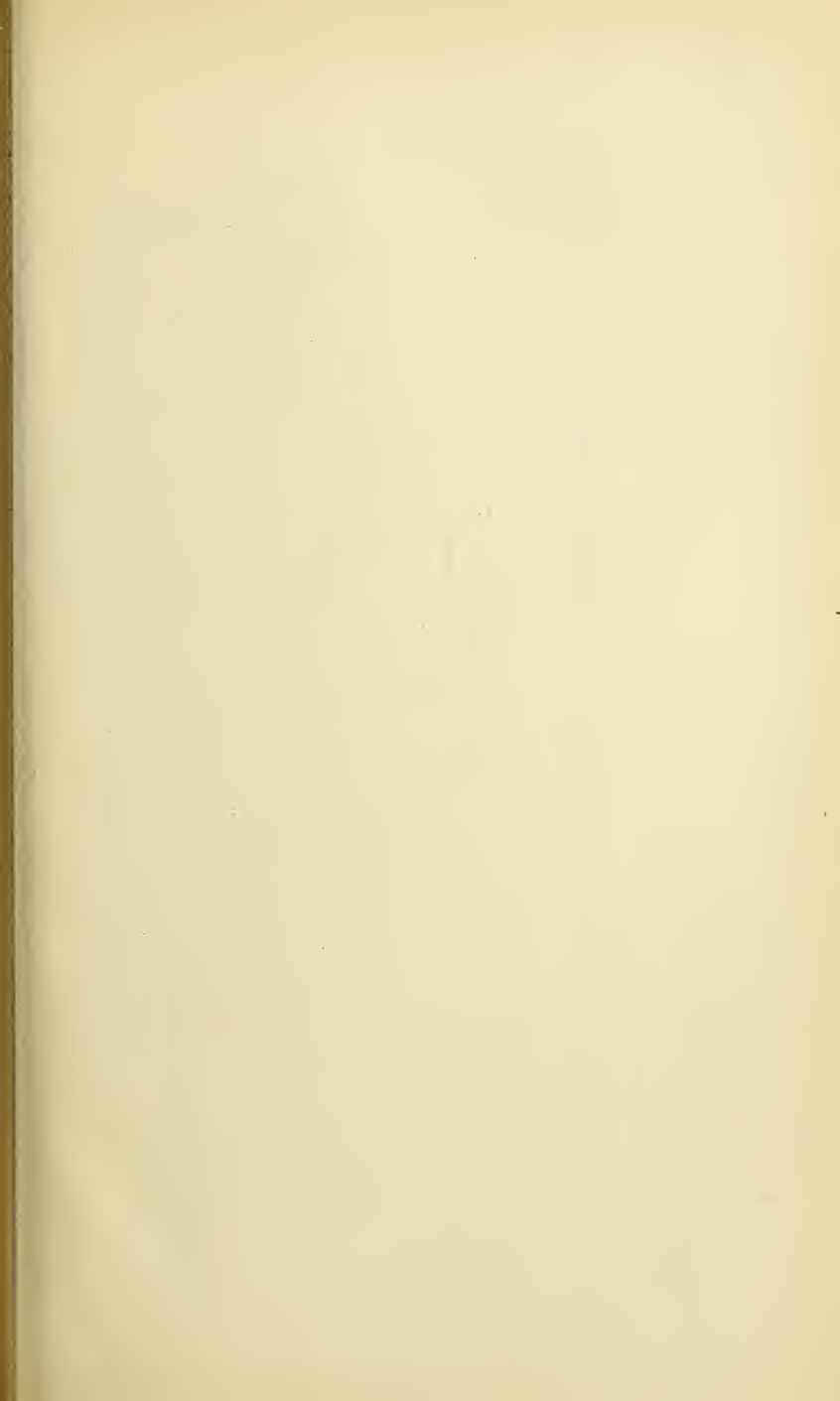
III. The appointment of "fence-viewers" in 1640 mentions "the field where Mr. Williams' house is" in such a connection as to show it to have been in this locality.

IV. That part of Essex street between Dean street and North street is described in the Court Records, in 1650, as "the way between Roger Morey and Mr. Williams his house that was."

V. North street is described, in 1671, as "formerly called Williamses Lane" After Jonathan Corwin bought the house it was called "Corwins Lane."

That "Mr. Williams" meant Roger Williams cannot be doubted. It is clear that it was perfectly understood at the time to whom the expression applied. If there had been more than one *Mr. Williams* in Salem's early history, the records would not have so invariably omitted the first name. But there was, in fact, no other to whom that title would have been given. The prefix "Mr." was used only for magistrates, ministers, eminent merchants and persons holding some official position. The only other "Mr. Williams" who figures in our Colonial records at that period was Francis Williams of Piscataqua and Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth.

An examination of the character of the early settlers in that part of Salem lying west of North street as exhibited in the following rough sketch, suggests the idea that Roger Williams in choosing this site for his house may have been accompanied or followed by others of a similar freedom of spirit in religious matters. We find there the names of Veren, Gaskin, Trusler, Spooner, Shattock, Weston, Needham, Moulton, Buffum, Corey, Southwick, Maule, Reeves and Bishop, all reminding us of persons conspicuous on our records as promulgators of what were considered "erroneous doctrines," Quakers, etc.



[DEAN STREET.]

ROBERT, OF JOHN, PEASE.
FRANCIS WESTON?ROGER MOREY.
ANTHONY NEEDHAM.
PHILIP VEREN,
HENRY REYNOLDS.

WILLIAM BACON.

ROBERT BUFFUM.

ROBERT MOULTON

BOSTON STREET.

JOHN ALDERMAN.

GILES COREY.

LAWRENCE SOUTHWICK.

[FLINT STREET.]

THOMAS GOULDTH-
WALT.

HENRY KENNY.

TOWNSEND BISHOP.

"BRICK-KILN LANE."

"BRICK-KILN FIELD."

THOMAS TRUSLER.

JOHN BARBER. — RICHARD NORMAN.

[NORMAN'S ROCKS.]

[TOWN BRIDGE.]

[NORTH STREET.]

ROGER WILLIAMS.

PHILIP VEREN.

PHILIP VEREN.

HILLARD VEREN.

ALLEN KENNISTON.

SAMUEL BELKNAP - SAMUEL GASKIN.

THOMAS COLE.

[BECKFORD STREET.]

THOMAS TRUSLER.

WILLIAM BOUND.

RICHARD BISHOP.

STREET.

[SUMMER STREET.]

PHILIP VEREN.

RICHARD GRAVES.

(THOMAS NAULE.)
THOMAS ANTURUM.

[HAMILTON STREET].

MICHAEL SHAFLIN.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXV. JULY, AUG., SEPT., 1888. Nos. 7, 8, 9.

THE PART TAKEN BY ESSEX COUNTY
IN THE
ORGANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT OF
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

OF the nine most conspicuous names associated with the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and the settlement of the region of which it was the *Magna Charta*, namely, Thomas Jefferson, Nathan Dane, Manasseh Cutler, Timothy Pickering, Elbridge Gerry, Rufus King, Rufus Putnam, Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent, seven—all but those of Jefferson and St. Clair—belong distinctively to Essex County. It has been thought well in this centennial year of the great events which secured that imperial domain to Freedom and the highest manhood, to put on record some account of the several parts borne by these distinguished sons of Essex, in so beneficent and far-reaching a work. Accordingly the following selections have been

brought together, from sources whose high authority will challenge the attention of the student of our history, and they are presented without comment, in the chronological order in which they were given voice. No attempt is made to reconcile statements in some cases apparently in conflict, but each stands on the authority of its well known sponsor, and is suffered to rest as it was originally made, to be read in the light of such facts as had at that time been discovered and established beyond question.

If a comprehensive statement and an exhaustive bibliography of the whole subject be sought, an admirable one is at hand in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Volume VII, Appendix One, pages 527 to 562 inclusive. Other sources of condensed information which may be named are Dunn's "Indiana" in the *American Commonwealth Series*, Chapters V, VI and VII, pages 177 to 293, and Rufus King's "Ohio" in the same series, Chapter VII, pages 161 to 188, together with Appendix II, pages 404 to 409 of that work. For partial views of the matter, the student is also referred to an article, prepared in 1853, for a chapter of the *Life of Rufus King*, by his son Dr. Charles King, President of Columbia College, and printed in *Spencer's History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 201-9, and in the "*New York Tribune*" of February 28, 1855, with able editorial comments thereon; also to Nathan Dane's appendix to Volume IX of his "*General Abridgment of American Law*,"

Note A, and his letter of May 12, 1831, addressed to John H. Farnham, Secretary of the Historical Society of Indiana, and printed in the "New York Tribune" of June 18, 1875; to William F. Poole's article in Volume CXXII, pp. 229-265, of the "North American Review" for April, 1876; to Peter Force's account of the Ordinance in Appendix I of the "St. Clair Papers," reprinted in Volume II, Appendix D, of the "Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler," and to Chapters IV, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX of the work last cited; also to the "St. Clair Papers," Vol. I, Chapters V and VI, pp. 116-141; to Bryant's History of the United States, Vol. IV, pp. 109-115; to Curtis's History of the Constitution, Vol. I, pp. 291-327; to Bancroft's History of the Constitution, Vol. II, pp. 430-9; to Benton's "Thirty Years' View," Vol. I, pp. 133-6; to Burnett's "Notes on the Northwest Territory;" to Major Ephraim Cutler Dawes's paper on the "Beginnings of the Ohio Company" read at Cincinnati, June 4, 1881, pp. 1-32; to the "Legislative History of the Ordinance," by John M. Merriam, in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1888, pp. 303-342; and to a paper by Frederick D. Stone, Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, about to appear in their magazine of History and Biography for the year 1889, Vol. XIII.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

[Letter to Samuel Hodgdon, dated, Newburgh, April 7, 1783.]

* * * * *

Respecting the Vermont lands, I have given up the idea.

* * * * *

But a new plan is in contemplation,—no less than forming a *new State* westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. About a week since, [*I set*] the matter [*was set*] on foot² and a plan is digesting for the purpose. Inclosed is a rough draught of some propositions respecting it which are generally approved of. They are in the hands of General Huntington and General (Rufus) Putnam for consideration, amendment and addition. It would be too tedious to explain to you in writing all the motives to attempt this measure, and all the advantages which will probably result from it. As soon as the plan is well digested, it is intended to lay it before an assembly of the officers, and to learn the inclinations of the soldiers. If it takes, an ap-

¹Col. Pickering, H. C. 1763, was born at Salem, July 17, 1745; of a family which has been prominent in the affairs of Salem since 1637 and has owned without a break the old homestead since it was built in 1642. The first American ancestor contracted on the "4th day of y^e 12th moneth," 1638, with John Endecott, John Woodbury, William Hathorne and others, representing the town of Salem, for an enlargement of the first meeting house. Col. Pickering was a conspicuous civil and military officer sharing largely in Washington's confidence, and served in his military family and in his cabinet as Secretary of War and of State and as Postmaster General. He died Jan. 29, 1829, and lies buried in the Broad st. burial-ground, in Salem. Col. Pickering's scheme was by no means the first one for settling the Ohio country, although broached before the ink was dry on the terms of peace. At least twenty years before, as early as May, 1763, an association known as the "Indiana company," of which George Plumer Smith of Philadelphia has some of the original papers, was sending agents to England to obtain grants from the Crown; in 1753, an Ohio company was employing Washington as its surveyor; and 1744 is not too early a date to assign for the inception of these English designs upon the Ohio valley. Col. Pickering's portrait is in the Essex Institute.

²In the MS. now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society and beautifully indexed, this sentence was first written "I set the matter on foot," and the words "I set" were afterwards erased, and "was set" interlined with a caret after "the matter."

plication will then be made to Congress for the grant and all things depending on them.

* * * * *

Adieu !

T. Pickering.

Saml. Hodgdon Esq.

P. S. April 8.—This morning a British officer from Sir Guy Carleton has bro't to H^d Q^{rs} the official accounts of Peace. Lord Surry is to come over ambassador to the United States. So I will soon shake you by the hand. But we must first celebrate here this great and happy event.

Te, Deum, laudamus!

T. P.

[Propositions enclosed in the above letter.]

* * * * *

"11. That a constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.

* * * * *

"15. That, the associators having borne together as brethren the dangers and calamities of war, and feeling that mutual friendship which long acquaintance and common sufferings give rise to ; it being also the obvious dictate of humanity to supply the wants of the needy, and alleviate the distresses of the afflicted,—it shall be an inviolable rule to take under the immediate patronage of the State the wives and children of such associators, who, having settled there, shall die, or, by cause of wounds or sickness, be rendered unable to improve their plantations, or

follow their occupations during the first twenty-one years. So that such destitute and distressed families shall receive such public aids, as, joined with their own reasonable exertions, will maintain them in a manner suitable to the condition of the heads of them; especially that the children when grown up, may be on a footing with other children, whose parents, at the original formation of the state, were in similar circumstances with those of the former."

ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

On the 14th of October, 1783, a Committee of the Continental Congress presented a report upon the subject of Indian affairs and the Western lands. During the discussion Mr. Gerry offered the following proposition, which was "agreed to," although there is no entry showing that the entire report was adopted. Mr. Gerry moved to amend so that it would read as follows: "Your Committee therefore submit it for consideration whether it will not be wise and necessary, as soon as circumstances shall permit, to erect a district of the western territory into a distinct government, as well for doing justice to the army of the United States who are entitled to lands as a bounty, or

¹Born at Marblehead, July 17, 1744; H. C., 1762; Massachusetts Legislature, 1772; conspicuous in the first Provincial Congress and in the first Continental Congress; the friend and ally of Samuel Adams, he declared early for Independence of Great Britain and afterwards enrolled his name amongst the signers of the Declaration. Of the fifty-six signers he was the thirteenth in order; he was one of five from Massachusetts and one of eight Harvard graduates. As a member of the Federal Convention for framing the Constitution he objected to proposed extensions of the powers of the Congress and finally withheld his assent to the Constitution as reported. He was in 1797 an envoy to France; Governor of Massachusetts in 1810; and, in 1812, Vice President of the United States, in which position he died at Washington, November 23, 1814.

The substantial wooden mansion-house of two and one-half stories in which Mr. Gerry was born and lived at Marblehead, still stands on Washington near Pickett street, and opposite the chapel of the "Old North Church." It was once the residence of Capt. William Blackler, a hero of the Revolution who commanded the barge in which Washington was ferried across the Delaware.

in reward for their services, as for the accommodation of such as may desire to become purchasers and inhabitants, and in the interim to appoint a committee to report a plan, consistent with the principles of confederation, for connecting with the Union by a temporary government the purchasers and inhabitants of the said district, until their numbers and circumstances shall entitle them to form a permanent constitution for themselves, and as citizens of a free, sovereign, and independent state, to be admitted to a representation in the Union. Provided, such Constitution shall not be incompatible with the republican principles, which are the basis of the Constitution of the republican states of the Union."

April 23, 1784. Mr. Gerry offered, and Congress adopted the following :

"That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new states, until they assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled."

THE SALEM MERCURY, NOV. 27, 1787.

[From a Letter of M. ST. JEAN DE CREVECŒUR,¹ Consul, of France for the Middle States in America, published in Europe and dated August 26, 1784.]

THE Ohio is the grand Artery of that part of America beyond the mountains ; it is the center where all the waters meet, which on one side run from the Alleghany

¹J. Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, born in Normandy, 1731, came to New York in 1754, where he married an American wife, identified himself with the country, suffered in the Revolutionary War, was honored with the esteem of Washington and of Franklin, and wrote many letters and books of travel well describing American life and conditions. In 1782 he introduced the American potato in Normandy.

mountains, and on the other come from the high land in the vicinity of lakes Erie and Michigan.

It has been calculated, that the region watered by those rivers, comprised between Pittsburgh and the Mississippi, contains at least 260,000 square miles, equal to 166,920,000 acres. It is, without a doubt, the most fertile country,—the most diversified and best watered soil, and that which offers to agriculture and commerce the most abundant and easy resources, of all those that the Europeans have heretofore discovered and peopled.

It was on the 10th of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, that we quitted the key of Pittsburgh, and gave ourselves up to the current of the Ohio. This navigation requires neither effort nor labor, but merely the art of steering well, knowing and avoiding the shoals, etc., and keeping in the middle of the channel. Without either sails or oars, we proceeded along at the rate of three to five miles the hour, according to the disposition of the winds, and the different windings of the river, which almost throughout preserves a width of from two to three hundred fathoms. We were at the beginning of the increase; already its waters had risen nine feet at the key of Pittsburgh, and I never found less than twelve at any time that I sounded.

This sweet and tranquil navigation appeared to me like an agreeable dream. Every moment presented to me new perspectives, which were incessantly diversified by the appearance of the islands, points, and the windings of the river, without intermission,—changed by this singular mixture of shores more or less woody; whence the eye escaped, from time to time, to observe the great natural meadows which presented themselves, incessantly embellished by promontories of different heights which for a moment seemed to hide, and then gradually unfolded to the

eyes of the navigator the bays and rivulets, more or less extensive, formed by the creeks and inlets, which fall into the Ohio. What majesty in the mouths of the great rivers which we passed! Their waters seemed to be as vast and as profound as those of the river upon which we floated! I never before felt myself so much disposed for meditation. My imagination involuntarily leaped into futurity; the absence of which was not afflicting, because it appeared to me nigh. I saw those beautiful shores ornamented with decent houses, covered with harvests and well cultivated fields; on the hills exposed to the north, I saw orchards regularly laid out in squares; on the others, vineyard plats, plantations of mulberry trees, locust, etc. I saw there, also, in the inferior lands the cotton tree, and the sugar maple, the sap of which had become an object of commerce. I agree, however, that all those banks did not appear to me equally proper for culture; but as they will probably remain covered by their native forests, it must add to the beauty, to the variety, of this future spectacle. What an immense chain of plantations! What a long succession of activity, industry, culture and commerce, is here offered to the Americans!

I consider then, the settling of the lands, which are watered by this river, as one of the finest conquests that could ever be presented to man; it will be so much the more glorious, as it will be legally of the ancient proprietors, and will not exact a single drop of blood. It is destined to become the source of force, riches, and the future glory of the United States.

Towards noon, on the third day, we anchored at the mouth of the Muskingum, in two fathoms and a half of water. . . . It is towards one of the principal branches of the Muskingum, that the great savage village of Tuscarawa is built; whence a carriage [*portage*] of two miles

leads to the river Cayahoga, deep and rather rapid, the mouth of which, in Lake Erie, forms an excellent harbor for ships of two hundred tons. This place seems to be designed for a spot for a town; and many persons of my acquaintance have already thought of it. All the travelers and hunters have spoken to me with admiration of the fertility of the plains and hills watered by the Muskingum; also, of the excellent fountains, salt pits, coal mines (particularly that of Lamenchicola) of free-stones, etc., that they find throughout.

RUFUS KING.¹

On the 16th of March, 1785, a motion was made by Mr. King, seconded by Mr. Ellery, that the following proposition be committed :

"That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April 1784."

¹ Born in Maine, 1755; H. C., 1777; studied law at Newburyport with Theophilus Parsons; in General Court from that town in 1783; Delegate to Congress in 1784-5-6; member of the Convention sitting at Philadelphia which formed the Constitution, when the Ordinance was passed at New York, July 13th; was appointed with Gerry, in 1785, as agents of Massachusetts, for fixing the terms upon which she would relinquish her claim on the Northwest Territory and they seem to have made the exclusion of slavery a condition precedent; Member of Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1788; afterwards United States Senator from New York and then Minister to England; died April 29, 1827.

RUFUS PUTNAM.¹

[Extracts from his journal, printed by Mary Cone: Cleveland: 1886.]

1785. While I was in Boston my election as one of the surveyors of the lands in the western territory was announced to me, in a letter of May 20, from the secretary of Congress, and requiring an immediate answer of my acceptance. I was considerably perplexed as to what answer to return, for I was not only under engagement to the state of Massachusetts, which I could not with honor disregard without their consent, but surveyors and hands were engaged for the season, provisions laid in, and a vessel chartered to take us to the eastern country. At the same time, I was very lothe to relinquish my appointment for the western country. On a view of the circumstances, I wrote a letter of acceptance to the secretary of Congress, and a letter to the Massachusetts delegates in Congress, requesting their influence that General Tupper might be accepted as a substitute for me in the western country until I could attend to the service in person. * * * *

1786. March 1. Delegates from eight counties of the state met at Boston agreeable to our request, and proceeded to form articles of agreement. * * * *

1787. Nov. 23. The directors of the Ohio Company this day appointed me Superintendent of all the business relating to the commencement of their lands in the territory

¹ John Putnam, the ancestor of all the New England Putnams, came from Buckinghamshire, A. D., 1634, and settled in Salem. From him, through his eldest son Thomas, his grandson Edward, and his great grandson Elisha, all Salem men, the last of whom married Susannah Fuller of Danvers and removed to Sutton in 1725, Rufus Putnam was descended in the fifth generation, having been born, April 9, 1738. He served in the French War, 1757-61, at its close studied surveying, was colonel, brigadier-general and chief engineer in the army of the revolution; was the third of the 288 officers of the continental line who memorialized Congress, June 16, 1783, in favor of granting bounty lands north of the Ohio, and addressed Washington on the subject; was a judge of the Northwest Territory in 1790-96, and surveyor general of the United States from 1796 to 1803.

northwest of the river Ohio. The people to go forward in companies employed under my direction, were to consist of four surveyors, twenty-two men to attend them, six boat builders, four carpenters, one blacksmith and nine common hands, with two wagons, etc., etc. Major Haffield White¹ conducted the first party, which started from Danvers the first of December. The other party was appointed to rendezvous at Hartford, where I met them the first day of January, 1788. From Hartford I was under the necessity of going to New York, and the party moved forward conducted by Colonel Sproat, January 24. I joined the party at Lincoln's Inn, near a creek which was hard frozen, but not sufficient to bear the wagon, and a whole day was spent in cutting a passage. So great a quantity of snow fell that day and the following night as to quite block up the road. It was with much difficulty we got the wagon to as far as Cooper's, at the foot of Tuscarawas mountain, now Strasburgh, where we arrived the twenty-ninth. Here we found that nothing had crossed the mountains. Our only resource now was to build sleds, and harness our horses one before the other, and in this manner, with four sleds

¹ Haffield White was a native of Danvers. At Concord Fight he commanded the Danvers Minute Men, and eight were killed. He had joined the army as a young man in 1755 and had taken an active and honorable part in the "Old French War." During the Revolutionary War he served as a lieutenant in Hutchinson's Regiment and as captain in Col. Rufus Putnam's Fifth Massachusetts. He was present at Trenton and Princeton and at the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was in Campus Martius (the fort at Marietta, Ohio) during the Indian War of 1790-95. At its close he lived in Ohio, where he built the first mill erected in the territory.

From the Hamlet Parish, besides Jervis Cutler, there were in Major White's party, John, Amos and Ebenezer Porter, Nathaniel Sawyer, Isaac and Oliver Dodge, Josiah Whittredge, William and Edmund Knowlton and David Wallis. The record of David Wallis shows the stuff of which they were made. Falling sick with the small-pox on reaching the Muskingum, he withdrew from camp and made his bed beside a fallen tree, where food was brought and left for him. He got well and walked back to Pittsburgh through an unbroken wilderness with one companion; there worked at a smelting furnace, saved his wages and finally walked home to Ipswich. For sketches of some of the pioneers in this enterprise who marched from Danvers, see a series of papers, signed "A. P. P.," and printed in the "Danvers Mirror" for June, July and August, 1881.

and the men in front to break the track, we set forward and reached the Youghiogheny, February 14, where we found Major White's party, which arrived January 23.

April 1, 1788. Having completed our boats, and laid in stores, we left Sinoul's ferry, on the Youghiogheny, for the mouth of the Muskingum, and arrived there on the seventh, landing on the upper point, where we pitched our camp among the trees, and in a few days commenced the survey of the town of Marietta,¹ as well as the eight acre lots, nor was the preparation for a plan of defence neglected. For, besides the propriety of always guarding against savages I had reason to be cautious. For, from consulting the several treaties made with the Indians by our Commissioners (copies of which I had obtained at the war office as I had come on), and other circumstances, I was fully persuaded that the Indians would not be peaceable very long, hence the propriety of immediately erecting a cover for the emigrants who were soon expected. Therefore, the hands not necessary to attend the surveys were set to work in clearing the ground, etc., which I fixed on for erecting the proposed works of defence.

Thus were all hands employed until May 5, when I proposed to them that those who inclined should have the liberty of planting two acres each on the plain within the town plat, and make up their time after the first of July (the date to which they had been engaged in the company's service). Most of them accepted the offer, and with what was done by them and others who came about this time, we raised about one hundred and thirty acres of good corn, yielding on an average about thirty bushels per acre. The season was very favorable; we had no frost until winter. I had English beans blossom in December.

¹ Actually so named in honor of Marie Antoinette, at the first meeting of the directors held west of the Alleghanies, July 2, 1788, and a public square tendered her ill-starred Majesty. Louisville was already named for the King.

Campus Martius was situated on the margin of the first high ground, a plain sixty chains from the Ohio river and eight chains from the Muskingum. It consisted of four block-houses of hewn or sawed timber, two stories high, erected at the expense of the company. The upper stories on two sides projected about two feet, with loop holes in the projection to rake the sides of the lower stories; two of the block-houses had two rooms on a floor, and the other two, three rooms. The block-houses were so planned as to form bastions of a regular square and flank the curtains of the work, which was proposed to consist of private houses, also to be made of hewn or sawed timber, and two stories high, leaving a clear area of one hundred and forty-four feet square.

MANASSEH CUTLER.¹

[From the diary printed in his *Life, Journal and Letters.*]

[He was chosen, March 1, 1786, at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern in Boston, one of five to draw up a plan of Association, and March 8, 1787, one of three directors.]

¹ Dr. Cutler was born in Connecticut May 3, 1742, and before entering college studied medicine; A.B. of Yale, 1765; began a business life in the whaling fleet of Martha's Vineyard; studied law and was admitted to the bar, 1769; studied theology and was licensed as a preacher, 1770; ordained at Ipswich Hamlet, 1771; joined in the pursuit of the British in the "First Bull Run" from Lexington to Boston; commissioned as chaplain in the army, 1776; besides a large knowledge of botany and astronomy, he acquired a sufficient knowledge of medicine to take the place of the village doctor who joined the army as a surgeon, and to be summoned in consultation and to take part in autopsies. He fitted many young men for Harvard College. He was a friend and constant correspondent of Franklin; LL.D. of Yale in 1789; member of the Seventh and Eighth Congresses, 1801-5; and member of the American Academy, American Philosophical, Massachusetts Historical, Essex Historical, and many other learned and literary societies. He died in the pastorate at Hamilton, July 28, 1823. The house he lived in is shown in the picture on page 182, and his portrait is in the Essex Institute.

Major Ephraim Cutler Dawes, of Cincinnati, a descendant of Dr. Cutler, in whose possession the original papers remain, writes: The diary for 1786 is lost.

Dr. Cutler's diary of his journey to New York and Philadelphia, in 1787, as printed in "The Life of Manasseh Cutler" was not written each day, but, as shown by the different kinds of ink and difference in pens, indicated by heavier

1787. June 23. Preparing for a journey to New York.

June 24. Sunday. Exchanged with Mr. Parsons of Lynn. Rode to Cambridge.

June 25. To Boston. Left Boston for Dedham.

and lighter strokes in forming the letters, was written up at intervals of several days. He made, however, daily memoranda, and also made notes of each day in an interleaved almanac.

In the formal journal (see "Life of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. I, p. 236), he writes of *July 9, 1787*, that he spent the morning with Hutchins, attended the meeting of the Committee before Congress opened, was again with Hutchins until noon, dined with Dr. Rogers and other clergymen, again met the Committee, and spent the evening with Dr. Holten and other members of Congress.

Of the *10th July*, he says that he had a conference with the Committee and then went with Mr. Hazard to visit Dr. Crosby with whom he spent much time in Columbia College. He dined at Col. Duer's and left for Philadelphia in the evening.

The interleaved almanac entries for these dates are:

July 9th "attended Congress. Dined with Dr. Rogers and other clergymen."

July 10th "attended business. Dined with Col. Duer. Went over ferry towards Philadelphia."

The daily notes appear to have been made daily on loose sheets of paper afterwards sewed together. *July 9th* was skipped or lost and is written in between the 12th and 13th with a note "omitted in its proper place."

The record is:

"Monday, July 9. This morn waited on ye Com^e at Congress Chamber—wait-
"ed on Dr Crosby—went to Columbia College—y^e Dr is professor of midwifery in
"this College—it is an elegant, large stone building like that at Providence—small
"but good apparatus—small library. Dined with Dr Rogers, Dr Ewing, Dr M^e
"Courtland, Mr. Wilson and another gentleman—very politely entertained. Dr
"Witherspoon came in after dinner and spent a little time. Dr Ewing introduced
"me to Dr Rittenhouse. I spent y^e evening at Dr Holtens quarters with delegates
"of Congress."

July 10th is in its proper place in the notes. The entry is:

"Tuesday, July 10. In y^e morn waited on Mr. Dane. Dined with Col Duer in
"company with Mr Osgood of y^e Board of Treasury,—Maj Sargent— 2 ladies be-
"sides Mrs Duer or Lady Kitty. She is daughter of Lord Starling—one, a French
"lady—La Touche— Set out for Phila " . .

It is quite certain from these extracts that Dr. Cutler's visit to Columbia College was on July 9 and that he spent the forenoon of July 10 with Nathan Dane. The printed copy of a proposed ordinance was no doubt handed to Dr. Cutler on his first visit to Congress, July 6. He had ample time to examine and comment upon it and the forenoon of July 10 to communicate his idea to Mr. Dane.

In writing out the complete journal at some wayside inn, Dr. Cutler probably did not notice the omission of July 9 in its proper place in the notes, but wrote right along from memory with the result of confusing the incidents of two successive days. Many others who have undertaken to write diaries after a few days' interval have had the same experience.

It has never seemed to me difficult to determine what Dr. Cutler contributed to the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ohio Company originated at the meeting of officers in April, 1783, when Timothy Pickering submitted his proposition for the formation of a new state an essential condition of whose constitution was to be the total and irrevocable prohibition of slavery. That prohibition was a condition of the purchase.

June 26. Went on this morning for Providence.

July 5. About 3 o'clock I arrived at the city by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of the Plow and Harrow. Took a walk into the city.

July 6. At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress Chamber in the City Hall. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. Dined with Mr. Dane.

July 9. Waited this morning very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to Illinois, and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole of the western country.

July 10. As congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill had been prepared, and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly, after I had returned the bill with my observations, I set out. [Dr. Cutler arrived, July 12; returned, July 14-17.]

July 18. Paid my respects this morning to the President of Congress, General St. Clair; attended at the City Hall on Members of Congress and their committee.

July 19. Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with the Ordinance estab-

The purchase was a *private contract* of purchase. Dr. Cutler would have failed in his duty to his associates if he had not insisted upon a clause in the Ordinance protecting it.

Dr. Cutler had insisted upon a grant of land for a university and also that the school and ministerial sections should be reserved in the Ohio Company purchase. These grants would have been of little value without the mandate in the Ordinance to foster religion and encourage schools.

lishing a Government in the Western federal Territory. It is in a degree new modelled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified. There are a number in Congress decidedly opposed to my terms of negotiation, and some to any contract. I must, if possible, bring the opponents over. Holten,¹ I think, may be trusted. Dane must be carefully watched notwithstanding his professions.

July 25. Mr. Osgood promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor.

July 26. We now entered into the true spirit of negotiations with great bodies; every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work we now put in motion.

July 27. At half past three, I was informed that an Ordinance had passed Congress on the terms stated in our letter without the least variation, and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take Order and close the contract. Sargent and I went immediately to the Board.

Aug. 29. Went to Boston and attended a meeting of the Ohio Company. Made a report of the purchase of the land from Congress, which was approved and confirmed.

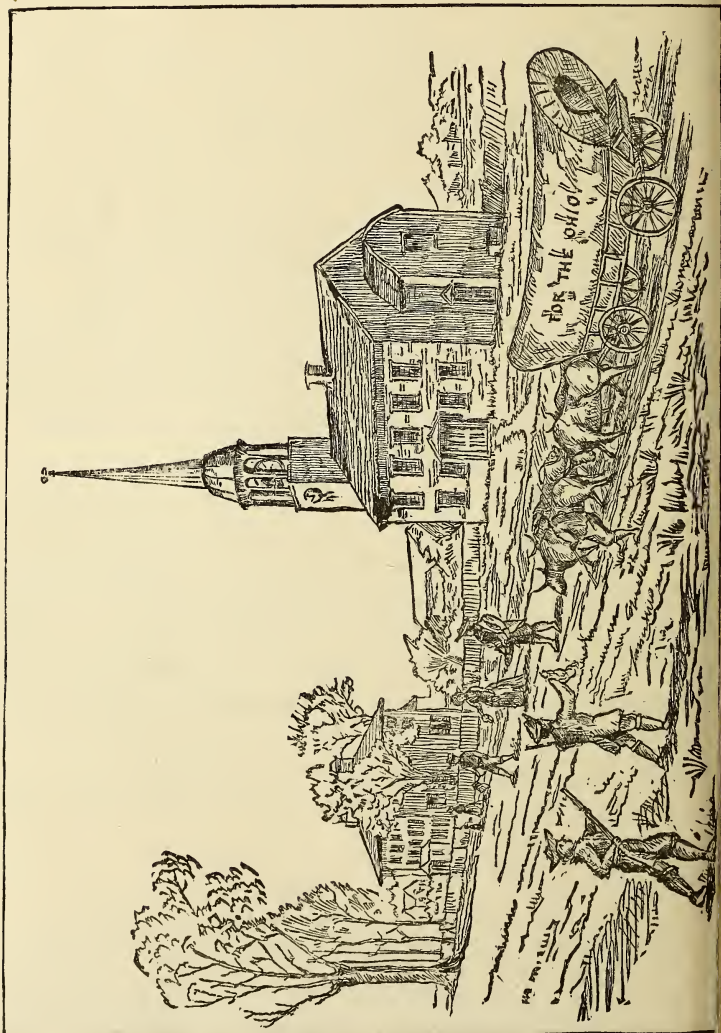
Oct. 27. Major Sargent and myself signed the Indented Agreement on parchment in two distinct contracts, . . for near six millions of acres of land . . the greatest private Contract ever made in America. Dined with General Knox — a very large company, all old Continental officers except myself,—Baron Steuben one of the number.

Dec. 1. Sent to Danvers the men's baggage, who are going to the Ohio.

Dec. 2. LORD'S DAY.

¹ Dr. Holten was a native of Danvers, born June 9, 1738, and died there Jan. 2, 1816. He was of the third generation of village doctors of his name; sat in the Provincial Congress of 1774-5; on the Committee of Correspondence and Safety in 1776; was in the Continental Congress, where he for a time presided, from 1777-83, and in the Congress of the United States from 1793-5. From 1796 until his death he was Judge of Probate for Essex County. See Hanson's Hist. Danvers, pp. 188-194.

Dec. 3. This morning a part of the men going to the Ohio met here two hours before day. I went on with them to Danvers. The whole joined at Major White's.



Twenty men, employed by the company and four or five on their own expense, marched at eleven o'clock. This party is commanded by Major White. Captain Putnam took the immediate charge of the men, wagons, etc. Jervis¹ went off in good spirits. He is well fitted for the journey.²

Jan. 17, 1788. Mr. Haraden and I went to Salem to get the dimensions of wagons for the western country.

Jan. 28. Went into the woods with a team and carried a white ash log to the mill for felloes for wagon wheels, and brought home timber for the body.

Feb. 7. Sent to every man in the parish an invitation to assist me in hauling wood. Constitution adopted by Massachusetts.

Feb. 8. Hauled wood from over the Pond. Mr. Plummer here from Pittsburg in 19 days. Accounts of the arrival of Major White and my son.

March 4. Went to Providence in my chaise to attend a meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company. Mr. Harris in a sulky. Arrived in Providence about sunset and lodged at Mr. Hitchcock's.

¹ Dr. Cutler's second son; the first of the party to step ashore at the Muskingum.

² A reminiscence written by Temple Cutler, Esq., Dr. Cutler's youngest son, of Massachusetts and Ohio, a well-known agricultural writer, gives some additional particulars of this event: "The little band of pioneers assembled at the house of Dr. Cutler, in Ipswich, Mass., on the third day of December, 1787, and there took an early breakfast. About the dawn of day they paraded in front of the house; and after a short address from him, full of good advice and hearty wishes for their happiness and prosperity — the men being armed — three volleys were fired, and the party (one of whom was his son Jervis, aged nineteen) went forward, cheered heartily by the bystanders. Dr. Cutler accompanied them to Danvers, where he placed them under command of Major Haffield White and Capt. Ezra Putnam. He had prepared a large and well-built wagon for their use, which preceded them with their baggage. This wagon, as a protection from cold and storm, was covered with black canvas, and on the sides was an inscription in white letters, I think in these words, 'For the Ohio at the Muskingum' which Dr. Cutler painted with his own hand.

Although I was then but six years old, I have a vivid recollection of all these circumstances, having seen the preparations and heard the conversation relative to the undertaking. I think the weather was pleasant and the sun rose clear. I know I almost wished I could be of the party then starting, for I was told we were all to go as soon as preparation was made for our reception."

March 5. A meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company at Rice's Tavern. Made returns of shares and prepared to draw next morning. Dined with the company at Rice's.

March 6. The Directors and Agents drew for the eight-acre lots. Began to draw at 9 in the morning, in the Council Chamber in the Court House—open doors—and a great number of people attended. Dined at Mr. John Brown's; a most superb entertainment. Completed our draught between nine and ten at night and were happy to find there was no mistake.

March 8. A meeting of the Directors in the forenoon. Adjourned the meeting of the Directors and Agents to the Muskingum on the Ohio. Came out of Providence at half past one, and rode to Dedham in company with Mr. Harris. Lodged at Mr. Chickering's.¹

June 19. Mr. Prince and I went to Boston together in my chaise. We dined in Boston and spent the evening at Mr. Clarke's with Mr. Belknap.

June 20. Purchased a sulky in order to go to the western country. Sent a letter to Mr. Barlow, in London or France. Spent the evening at Mr. Belknap's.

[*Salem Mercury for May 27, 1788.*]

¹It is said, that not less than 800 families have already gone from the New-England States, to settle in the Ohio Country.

[*Salem Mercury for June 17, 1788.*]

On Saturday last, Mr. ISAAC DODGE and Mr. OLIVER DODGE arrived at Wenham from the MUSKINGUM, which they left the 18th of May. The party of men in the service of the Ohio Company, under the superintendency of Gen. Putnam, arrived at the Muskingum on the 8th of April, without any embarrassment, excepting the delays which the severity of the winter occasioned in preparing to go down the Ohio from Pittsburg. The natives who came in were very friendly, and wished to trade with their new visitors. Gen. Putnam had completed the surveys of the 4000 acres for a city, and one thousand eight acre lots. A large quantity of ground was sowed and planted, and the people were beginning to erect houses. The account they give of the country is exceedingly flattering. Provisions were cheap and plenty: Flour was purchased at 6s. per cwt. These men belonged to the party employed by the Company, but obtained leave to come home, for the purpose of making provisions for erecting mills. They came on foot, and were only 26 days from Muskingum to Wenham.

June 27-28. Overhauling my sulky and painting it.

July 1. Making a travelling trunk for the western country.

July 4. Anniversary of American Independence. Went to Salem. Cadet and Artillery companies turned out and made a very pretty appearance. This evening received the very agreeable intelligence of Virginia adopting the Constitution.

July 14. Preparing for my journey westward.

July 16. Commencement at Cambridge. Set out in the morning, arrived at eleven o'clock, dined in the Hall.

July 18. Dined at the President's, and came home.

July 19. Preparing for my journey.

July 20. I preached at Mr. Swain's. Mr. Swain at Topsfield, and Mr. Story here. Informed the people of my intention to set out on my journey. Relinquished my salary, and they to supply the pulpit.

Monday, July 21, 1788. Set out from Ipswich on a journey to the Ohio and Muskingum. Mr. Ephm Kendall of Ipswich was gone on to Salem, where he, with Mr. Peter Oliver, joined me on horseback. I set out myself in a sulky. Made some little stop in Salem. We dined at Newhall's, in company with Judge Cushing and the Attorney-General, Mr. Paine. We were detained several hours in Boston. Left the town about sunset, having received a prodigious number of letters for Muskingum. Lodged at Major Whiting's in Roxbury. 34 miles. . . .

July 24. Set out late in the morning about 10 o'clock. Have had considerable business to do. Very showery. Made a stage at Judge Randall's in Pomfret. Stopped in Ashford to get Major Oliver's saddle-bags mended. Very sultry; frequent and smart showers, but we did not regard them so much as to put on our loose coats. Dined at

Major Clark's. Lodged at Dunham's in Mansfield. Rode 27 miles.

Friday, July 25. This morning very windy and showery. Set out late. Breakfasted at Widow Kimball's, in Coventry. Went on to Hartford, and dined at Bull's tavern. Mr. Bull sent for Captain Pratt, a recruiting officer for the Western Country, who gave us the stages from Bethlehem, and favored me with a letter to Mrs. Butler, the lady of General Butler, at Carlisle. Exchanged silver for gold Mr. Pomeroy, broker. Securities 3s 6d. on the £ but none to sell. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler, per Post. . .

Aug. 13. At this place we agreed to put up our horses at one dollar per month, oats at 3s. per bushel to feed my horse two weeks, twice a day. . . .

Aug. 14. This morning we went down to the Ohio river, one fourth of a mile, where we had the first sight of this beautiful river.

Sunday, Aug. 17. This morning rose early. The people got on board at nine o'clock. Went past Buffalo Creek before we could get the cattle on board.

Aug. 19. Began to rain about two, and continued to rain very hard until we landed at Muskingum. Passed the little Muskingum, 751 miles from Ipswich, a pretty large creek, and Duck Creek; the course of the Ohio nearly north-west, having turned gradually and beautifully from south for four or five miles—fine bottom on each side. Against Little Muskingum and Duck Creek lies Kerr's Island, which bows in the same manner as the river, terminating about a mile before we landed.

The first appearance was the Fort, which was very pretty. The state of the air injured our prospect very much. We landed at The Point, and were very politely received by the Honorable Judges, General Putnam and our friends. General Putnam invited me to his lodgings, which is a marquee. Rained extremely hard in the evening and at night.

DANIEL WEBSTER.¹

[First Speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 20, 1830.]

The country was to be governed. This, for the present, it was obvious, must be by some territorial system of administration. But the soil, also, was to be granted and settled. Those immense regions, large enough almost for an empire, were to be appropriated to private ownership. How was this best to be done? What system for sale and disposition should be adopted? Two modes for conducting the sales presented themselves; the one a Southern, and the other a Northern mode. It would be tedious, Sir, here, to run out these different systems into all their distinctions, and to contrast the opposite results. That which was adopted was the Northern system, and is that which we now see in successful operation in all the new States. That which was rejected was the system of warrants, surveys, entry, and location; such as prevails south of the Ohio. It is not necessary to extend these remarks into invidious comparisons. This last system is that which, as has been expressively said, has *shingled* over the country to which it was applied with so many conflicting titles and claims. Everybody acquainted with the subject knows how easily it leads to speculation and litigation,—two great calamities in a new country. From the system actually established, these evils are banished. Now, Sir, in effecting this great measure, the first important measure on the whole subject, New England acted

¹Born January 18, 1782, died October 24, 1852. His paternal grandmother was Susannah Batchelder, descended from Rev. Stephen Bachiler, the first minister of Lynn, settled there in 1632, and the ancestor of the Essex County Batchelders. Mr. Whittier and Mr. Webster are reputed to have derived their very remarkable eyes from this Susannah Batchelder, who is their common ancestor.

with vigor and effect, and the latest posterity of those who settled the region northwest of the Ohio will have reason to remember, with gratitude, her patriotism and her wisdom. The system adopted was her own system. She knew, for she had tried and proved its value. It was the old-fashioned way of surveying lands before the issuing of any title papers, and then of inserting accurate and precise descriptions in the patents or grants, and proceeding with regular reference to metes and bounds. This gives to original titles, derived from government, a certain and fixed character; it cuts up litigation by the roots, and the settler commences his labor with the assurance that he has a clear title. It is easy to perceive, but not easy to measure, the importance of this in a new country. New England gave this system to the West; and while it remains, there will be spread over all the West one monument of her intelligence in matters of government, and her practical good sense.

At the foundation of the constitution of these new Northwestern States lies the celebrated Ordinance of 1787. We are accustomed, Sir, to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. That instrument was drawn by Nathan Dane, then and now a citizen of Massachusetts. It was adopted, as I think I have understood, without the slightest alteration; and certainly it has happened to few men to be the authors of a political measure of more large and enduring consequence. It fixed forever the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio, by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil

itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdict against personal servitude, in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions. Under the circumstances then existing, I look upon this original and seasonable provision as a real good attained. We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow. It was a great and salutary measure of prevention. Sir, I should fear the rebuke of no intelligent gentleman of Kentucky, were I to ask whether, if such an ordinance could have been applied to his own State, while it yet was a wilderness, and before Boone had passed the gap of the Alleghanies, he does not suppose it would have contributed to the ultimate greatness of that commonwealth? It is, at any rate, not to be doubted, that, where it did apply, it has produced an effect not easily to be described or measured, in the growth of the States, and the extent and increase of their population.

Now, Sir, as I have stated, this great measure was brought forward in 1787, by the North. It was sustained, indeed, by the votes of the South, but it must have failed without the cordial support of the New England States. If New England had been governed by the narrow and selfish views now ascribed to her, this very measure was, of all others, the best calculated to thwart her purposes. It was, of all things, the very means of rendering certain a vast emigration from her own population to the West. She looked to that consequence only to disregard it. She deemed the regulation a most useful one to the States that would spring up on the territory, and advantageous to the country at large. She adhered to the principle of it perseveringly, year after year, until it was finally accomplished.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[Second Speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 26, 1830.]

Having had occasion to recur to the Ordinance of 1787, in order to defend myself against the inferences which the honorable member has chosen to draw from my former observations on that subject, I am not willing now entirely to take leave of it without another remark. It need hardly be said, that that paper expresses just sentiments on the great subject of civil and religious liberty. Such sentiments were common, and abound in all our state papers of that day. But this Ordinance did that which was not so common, and which is not even now universal; that is, it set forth and declared it to be a high and binding duty of government itself to support schools and advance the means of education, on the plain reason that religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government, and to the happiness of mankind. One observation further. The important provision incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, and into several of those of the States, and recently, as we have seen, adopted into the reformed constitution of Virginia, restraining legislative power in questions of private right, and from impairing the obligation of contracts, is first introduced and established, as far as I am informed, as matter of express written constitutional law, in this Ordinance of 1787. And I must add, also, in regard to the author of the Ordinance, who has not had the happiness to attract the gentleman's notice heretofore, nor to avoid his sarcasm now, that he was chairman of that select committee of the old Congress, whose report first expressed the strong sense of that body, that the old Confederation was not adequate to the exigencies of the

country, and recommended to the States to send delegates to the convention which formed the present Constitution.

An attempt has been made to transfer from the North to the South the honor of this exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory. The journal, without argument or comment, refutes such attempts. The cession by Virginia was made in March, 1784. On the 19th of April following, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan for a temporary government of the territory, in which was this article : "That, after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted." Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out this paragraph. The question was put, according to the form then practised, "Shall these words stand as a part of the plan?" New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, seven States, voted in the affirmative ; Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, in the negative. North Carolina was divided. As the consent of nine States was necessary, the words could not stand, and were struck out accordingly. Mr. Jefferson voted for the clause, but was overruled by his colleagues.

In March of the next year (1785), Mr. King of Massachusetts, seconded by Mr. Ellery of Rhode Island, proposed the formerly rejected article, with this addition : "And that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States, and each of the States described in the resolve." On this clause, which provided the adequate and thorough security, the eight Northern States at that time voted affirmatively, and the four South-

ern States negatively. The votes of nine States were not yet obtained, and thus the provision was again rejected by the Southern States. The perseverance of the North held out, and two years afterwards the object was attained. It is no derogation from the credit, whatever that may be, of drawing the Ordinance, that its principles had before been prepared and discussed, in the form of resolutions. If one should reason in that way, what would become of the distinguished honor of the author of the Declaration of Independence? There is not a sentiment in that paper which had not been voted and resolved in the assemblies, and other popular bodies in the country, over and over again.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[Speech delivered in the Senate, March 7, 1850.]

The Convention for framing this Constitution assembled in Philadelphia in May, and sat until September, 1787. During all that time the Congress of the United States, was in session at New York. It was a matter of design, as we know, that the convention should not assemble in the same city where Congress was holding its sessions. Almost all the public men of the country, therefore, of distinction and eminence, were in one or the other of these two assemblies; and I think it happened, in some instances, that the same gentlemen were members of both bodies. If I mistake not, such was the case with Mr. Rufus King, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts. Now, at the very time when the Convention in Philadelphia was framing this Constitution, the Congress in New York was framing the Ordinance of 1787, for the organization and

government of the territory northwest of the Ohio. They passed that Ordinance on the 13th of July, 1787, at New York, the very month, perhaps the very day, on which these questions about the importation of slaves and the character of slavery were debated in the Convention at Philadelphia. So far as we can now learn, there was a perfect concurrence of opinion between these two bodies ; and it resulted in this Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from all the territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction, and that was all the territory northwest of the Ohio. Three years before, Virginia and other states had made a cession of that great territory to the United States ; and a most munificent act it was. I never reflect upon it without a disposition to do honor and justice, and justice would be the highest honor, to Virginia, for the cession of her northwestern territory. I will say, sir, it is one of her fairest claims to the respect and gratitude of the country, and that, perhaps, it is only second to that other claim which belongs to her ; that from her counsels, and from the intelligence and patriotism of her leading statesmen, proceeded the first idea put into practice of the formation of a general constitution of the United States. The Ordinance of 1787 applied to the whole territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction. It was adopted two years before the Constitution of the United States went into operation ; because the Ordinance took effect immediately on its passage, while the Constitution of the United States, having been framed, was to be sent to the States to be adopted by their Conventions ; and then a government was to be organized under it. This Ordinance, then, was in operation and force when the Constitution was adopted, and the government put in motion, in April, 1789.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

TO EDWARD S. RAND AND OTHERS,

CITIZENS OF NEWBURYPORT, MASS.:

Washington, May 15, 1850.

The Constitution of the United States, in the second section of the fourth article, declares :

"A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This provision of the Constitution seems to have met with little exception or opposition, or none at all, so far as I know, in Massachusetts. Everybody seems to have regarded it as necessary and proper. The members of the convention of that State for adopting the Constitution were particularly jealous of every article and section which might in any degree intrench on personal liberty. Every page of their debates evinces this spirit. And yet I do not remember that any one of them found the least fault with this provision. The opponents and deriders of the Constitution, of this day, have sharper eyes in discerning dangers to liberty than General Thompson, Holder Slocum, and Major Nason had, in 1788; to say nothing of John Hancock, Samuel Adams and others, friends of the Constitution, and among them the very eminent men who were

delegates in that convention from Newburyport: Rufus King, Benjamin Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons and Jonathan Titcomb.

The latter clause, quoted above, it may be worth while to remark, was borrowed, in substance from the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which was drawn up by that great man of your own county, and a contemporary of your fathers, Nathan Dane.

Mr. Dane had very venerable New England authority for the insertion of this provision in the Ordinance which he prepared. In the year 1643, there was formed a confederation between the four New England Colonies, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven; and in the eighth article of that confederation it is stipulated as follows: "It is also agreed, if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederate jurisdictions, that, in such cases, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursues, and brings such certificate or proof." And in the "Articles of Agreement" entered into in 1650, between the New England Colonies and "the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland," it was stipulated that "the same way and course" concerning fugitives should be observed between the English Colonies and New Netherland as had been established in the "Articles of Confederation" between the English Colonies themselves.¹

¹ In 1851-2, Robert Rantoul, Jr. of Beverly held the ground that these constitutional provisions for the rendition of fugitives from justice, labor and service, were of like force and import and that none of them contained a grant of power to the Federal Government, but that all were to be construed as in the nature of a compact between States, a position, which, so far as it relates to fugitives from justice, was afterwards sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Dennison, Governor of Ohio* [24 Howard, p. 66]. See *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XXI, p. 267.

LETTER FROM NATHAN DANE TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

Beverly, March 26th, 1830.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your second speech on the motion of Mr. Foot, respecting the public lands, for which I thank you. You recollect you ascribed to me the formation of the Ordinance of the Old Congress, of July 13th, 1787. Since writing you last, I have seen Mr. Benton's speech on the subject, in the National Intelligencer, of March 6th, 1830, in which, I find, on no authority, he ascribes its formation in substance to Mr. Jefferson; that is, that Mr. Jefferson formed an ordinance in 1784, and he seems to infer from that the Ordinance of '87 was taken or copied. This inference of Benton's has not the least foundation as thus appears: Mr. Jefferson's resolve, or plan (not ordinance), of April 23d, 1784, is contained in two pages and a half; is a mere incipient plan, in no manner matured for practice, as may be seen. The Ordinance of July, 1787, contains eight pages; is in itself a complete system, and finished for practice; and, what is very material, there cannot be found in it more than twenty lines taken from Jefferson's plan, and these worded differently. In fact, his plan and this Ordinance are totally different, in size, in style, in form, and in principle. Probably not one person in a thousand knows or suspects this essential difference, of those who read, or are told, what Benton has said; nor do I see it much noticed in the debates. Ought not this difference to be made known? Mr. Benton's assertion, so groundless, extorts from me the above, and the following exposition, in defence of those who have long ascribed to me the formation.

I observe Mr. Benton and Mr. Hayne both assert you failed in your proof of the part you ascribed to me. Does

this part stand as you wish it to remain? I remember you once asked me for some account of this Ordinance, and that I gave you an account in a few words, and referred to the 7th Vol. of my "Abridgment," chap. 223. If then I had, in the least, anticipated what has taken place, I should have given you a much fuller account. As, in the endless debate, you may have an opportunity, in a note or otherwise, to use further evidence, I will state a small portion.

1. As I am the only member of Congress living who had any concern in forming or in passing this Ordinance, no living testimony is to be expected.

2. In the North American Review, of July, 1826, pages 1 to 41, is a review of my "General Abridgment," etc., of American Law. In page 40, it is said, I "was the framer of the celebrated Ordinance of Congress, of 1787." At present, it is enough to add this fact, stated in the Inaugural Discourse of Judge Story, page 58. Neither of these, it seems, Mr. Hayne has read; and he could only find me in that *aged* (and really harmless) Convention, which so unnecessarily excited fear and alarm, as history will be able to show.

Generally, when persons have asked me questions respecting the Ordinance, I have referred to the Ordinance itself, as evidently being the work of a Massachusetts lawyer on the face of it. I now make the same reference, and to its style, found in my "Abridgment," etc.

3. When I mention the formation of this Ordinance, it is proper to explain. It consists of three parts. 1st, The titles to estates, real and personal, by deed, by will, and by descent; also personal, by delivery. These titles occupy the first part of the Ordinance, not a page, evidently selected from the laws of Massachusetts, except it omits the double share of the oldest son. These titles were made to take root in the first and early settlements, in 400,000

square miles. Such titles so taking root, we well know, are, in their nature, in no small degree *permanent*; so, vastly important. I believe these were the first titles to property, completely republican, in Federal America; being in no part whatever feudal or monarchical. In my 9th Vol. chap. 223 continued, titles, etc., in the several States, may be seen the dregs of feudality, continued to this day, in a majority of our States. 2d, It consists of the *temporary* parts that ceased with the territorial condition; which, in the age of a nation, soon pass away, and hence are not *important*. These parts occupy about four pages. They designate the officers, their qualifications, appointments, duties, oaths, etc., and a temporary legislature. Neither those parts, nor the titles, were in Jefferson's plan, as you will see. The 3d part, about three pages, consists of the *six fundamental articles of compact*, expressly made *permanent, and to endure forever*; so, the most important and valuable part of the Ordinance. These, and the titles to estates, I have ever considered the parts of the Ordinance that give it its peculiar character and value; and never the *temporary* parts, of short duration. Hence, whenever I have written or spoken of its formation, I have mainly referred to these titles and articles; not to the *temporary* parts, in the forming of which, in part, in 1786, Mr. Pinckney, myself, and I think Smith, took a part. So little was done with the Report of 1786, that only a few lines of it were entered in the Journals. I think the files, if to be found, will show that Report was re-formed, and temporary parts added to it, by the Committee of '87; and that I then added the titles and six articles; five of them before the Report of 1787 was printed, and the sixth article after, as below.

4. As the *slave* article has ever principally attracted the public attention, I have, as you will see, ever been

careful to give Mr. Jefferson and Mr. King their full credit in regard to it. I find in the Missouri contest, ten years ago, the slave-owners in Congress condemned the six articles generally ; and Mr. Pinckney, one of the committee of 1786, added, they were an attempt to establish a *compact*, where none could exist, for want of proper parties. This objection, and also the one stating the Ordinance was an *usurpation*, led me to add pages 442, beginning *remarks*, to page 450, in which I labored much to prove it was no usurpation, and that the articles of compact were valid. They may be referred to, as in them may be seen the style of the ordinance, though written thirty-four years after that was. Slave-owners will not claim as Mr. Pinckney's work what he condemned. Careful to give Mr. J. and Mr. K. full credit in pages 443, 446, Vol. 7th, I noticed Mr. Jefferson's plan of '84 and gave him credit for his attempt to exclude slavery after the year 1800. I may now add, he left it to take root about seventeen years ; so his exclusion was far short of the sixth article in the Ordinance. Page 446, I noticed the motion (Mr. King's) of March 16, 1785, and admitted it to be a motion to exclude slavery, as fully as in the sixth article. I now think I admitted too much. He moved to exclude slavery only from *the States* described in the Resolve of Congress of April 23, 1784, Jefferson's Resolve, and to be added to it. It was very doubtful whether the word *States*, in that Resolve, included any more territory than the individual States ceded ; and whether the word *States* included preceding *territorial condition*. Some thought his motion meant only *future* exclusion, as did Mr. Jefferson's plan clearly : therefore, in forming the Ordinance of '87, all about States in his plan was excluded, as was nearly all his plan, as inspection will prove, and that Ordinance made, in a few plain words, to include " the territory of the United States

north-west of the river Ohio,"—all made, for the purposes of temporary government, one district; and the sixth article excludes slavery forever from "the said territory." One part of my claim to the slave article I now, for the first time, state. In April, 1820 (Missouri contest), search was made for the original manuscript of the Ordinance of '87. Daniel Bent's answer was, "that no written draft could be found;" but there was found, attached to the printed Ordinance, in my handwriting, the sixth article, as it now is,—that is, the slave article. So this article was made a part of the Ordinance solely by the care of him, who, says Mr. Benton, no more formed the Ordinance of '87 than he did. I have Bent's certificate, etc.

5. In pages 389, 390, Sect. 3, Vol. 7th, I mention the Ordinance of '87 was framed, mainly, from the laws of Massachusetts. This appears on the face of it; meaning the titles to estates, and nearly all the six articles, the *permanent* and important parts of it, and some other parts; and, in order to take the credit of it to Massachusetts, I added, "this Ordinance (formed by the author, etc.) was framed," etc. I then had no idea it was ever claimed as the draft of any other person. Mr. Jefferson I never thought of. In the Missouri contest, Mr. Grayson was mentioned as the author; but, as he never was on any committee in the case, nor wrote a word of it, the mention of him was deemed an idle affair. We say, and properly, Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence (or formed it, as you observe); yet he no more than collected the important parts, and put them together. If any lawyer will critically examine the laws and constitutions of the several States, as they were in 1787, he will find the titles, six articles, etc., were not to be found anywhere else so well as in Massachusetts, and by one who, in '87, had been engaged several years in revising her laws. See N. A.

Review, July, 1826, pages 40, 41. I have never claimed *originality*, except in regard to the clause against impairing contracts, and perhaps the *Indian* article, part of the third article, including, also, religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc.

6. The style of the Ordinance. Since the year 1782, books and records show my writings, especially in the forms of statutes. My law-writings have been extensively published; and often, on important subjects, the first draft has been reduced half, or more. This process naturally ends in a studied, compressed style, rather hard. Had I room, I could refer to numerous parts of my writings, published, and not published, to show this style; and this is the style of the Ordinance, courteously denominated, in the discourse mentioned, "a sententious skilfulness of expression." But, in a letter already long, only a few cases can be referred to. I go back to 1785, and refer to my statement of the great land titles in Maine, published by the legislature in a pamphlet; some statutes revised on subjects of importance, from 1782 to 1801; my Rules and Cases and Notes, in the American precedents, etc.; my defence of Harvard University against the claims of West Boston Bridge, not published, but to be found, no doubt, in the files of the University; my argument in *Kilham v. Ward, et al.*, II, Vol. Mass. Reports; Introduction of my Abridgment; Summary view of executory estates, chap. 114, art. 31; State rights and sovereignty, chap. 143, especially chap. 187, and this chapter continued in the (Supplement) Vol. 9th, though written forty-two years after the Ordinance was. It is believed, in these and other cases, the style of the Ordinance can be found.

I am surprised Senators Benton and Hayne attempt to place Mr. Jefferson's fame, in any part, on his meagre, inadequate plan of '84. If his exalted reputation rests on

no better foundation than this, will it be immortal? I can account for their bold assertions, only on the supposition they had never read his plan.

Thus far I have felt it a duty to state the above facts and matters in the more durable form of writing, for several reasons: one, for the defence of my most respectable and best friends, who long have publicly ascribed to me the formation of this Ordinance; and, especially for your defence, who have generously and ably repelled the attacks and sneers, which have mainly produced this letter. I will only add that, in the years 1784, '85, '86, and '87, the Eastern members in the Old Congress really thought they were preparing the North-Western Territory principally for New England settlers, and to them the third and sixth articles of compact more especially had reference; therefore, when North Carolina ceded her western territory, and requested this Ordinance to be extended to it, except the *slave* article, that exception had my full assent, because slavery had taken root in it, and it was then probable it would be settled principally by slave-owners.

If Mr. Hayne had been as careful to read all the H. Convention did, as he seems to have been to spy out matter of accusation, he would, I think, have seen its liberality towards slave-owners, in proposing they yield their slave-votes, solely on the ground of *their own generosity* not on any claim of *right* whatever; and if he and Mr. Benton had better noticed the two plans of surveys and sales of the Public Lands, they would, I think, have hid the southern one under the table,—a plan but a little better than that of Mr. Jefferson. So, had Mr. Hayne thought a little more of Congress's exercise of *unlimited* power to make new states at pleasure on any purchased territory, he never would, I believe, have reproached that Convention for proposing to restrain such *unlimited*, tremendous

power. If Mr. H. can properly advocate, as he does, such *unlimited* power, why may not others advocate power in Congress to make roads and canals, a power far less *unlimited*?

Yours sincerely,

N. DANE.¹

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER.

NATHAN DANE.

[Appendix to Dane's general abridgment of American law, note A, 1830.]

On the whole if there be any praise or any blame in this ordinance; especially in the titles to property and in the

¹Nathan Dane, whose ancestor John Dane settled at Ipswich in 1638, was born Dec. 27, 1752, in the house still well preserved and for many years the Safford homestead, but now the property of Henry Wilson, which stands near the line between Hamilton and Ipswich, just easterly of the winding avenue leading to the Appleton farm and between that and the old stage road. A good picture of the house may be found in the Memoir of Deacon Daniel Safford, who was born there in 1792, and it stood in the Ipswich Hamlet parish until the setting off of Hamilton from Ipswich in 1793, when the line of the new town was moved a little farther west than that of the Hamlet had been, leaving the old homestead in the town of Ipswich. H. C., 1778; LL.D., 1816; studied law in Salem, and taught school in Beverly until 1782, when he began practice in Beverly, and was a member of the General Court in 1782-3-4, a delegate in Congress for 1785-6-7; in the Massachusetts Senate in 1790-4-6-8; twice on committees for the revision of state laws in 1795 and 1812, and member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. He founded the Dane Law School in 1829, and died at Beverly, Feb. 15, 1835, in a brick house still standing opposite the "Old South" meeting house. For more than fifty years, said Judge Story in his Inaugural discourse as Dane Professor of Law, Mr. Dane had daily devoted double Lord Coke's allotment of six hours to the pursuit of politics and jurisprudence. Judge Story adds, "to him belongs the glory of the formation of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which constitutes the fundamental law of the states, northwest of the Ohio. It is a monument of political wisdom and sententious skillfulness of expression." See Story's Inaugural Discourse, as Dane Professor (1829) pp. 55-9; Quincy's History Harvard University, Vol. II, pp. 374-8; N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg., Vol. VIII, pp. 147-8; Stone's Hist. Beverly, pp. 135-49; American Jurist and Law Mag., Vol. XIV, pp. 62-76; Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV, p. 279; Memoir in Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings, Vol. II, pp. 6-10.

Mr. Dane, without any doubt, introduced the Ordinance passed in 1787. Such is the authority of Bancroft in his Eulogy of Abraham Lincoln (delivered before Congress, Feb. 12, 1866) and elsewhere. The Ordinance exists in his handwriting, on the files of Congress, and was reported by him to Congress, although he was

permanent parts, so the most important, it belongs to Massachusetts; as one of her members formed it and furnished the matter with the exceptions following. First, he was assisted in the committee of '86 in the *temporary* organization almost solely by Mr. C. Pinckney, who did so little he felt himself at liberty to condemn this ordinance in that debate. Secondly, the author took from Mr. Jefferson's resolve of '84 in substance the said six provisions in the fourth article of compact as above stated. Thirdly, he took the words of the slave article from Mr. King's

second in the list of members of the committee charged with the matter, for the apparent reason that the chairman of the committee was not in sympathy with the measure. Cutler seems to have distrusted him. His integrity needs no vindication. Mr. Dane had already made large investments in the Eastern land enterprise and was interested in and committed to the building up of the Province of Maine. Some of his relatives had gone there and domiciled themselves and several leading officers of the Revolutionary Army, such as Generals Knox and Lincoln, had acquired land there. Massachusetts sentiment was enlisted and could not brook the desertion of the Eastern enterprise for any other. The following order, now on the files of the Essex Institute, bears witness to these transactions.

Boston, June 8, 1785.

Sir: please to deliver to Rufus Putnam, Esqr, or his order, the Whale boat I bought of you—I shall be at Salem Court next (week?) when I will make payment.

Your Humble Servant.

Nathan Dane.

To Mr. Joshua Ward, Salem,
near the old Court house.

Salem, 13 June, 1785.;

Rec^d the above boat,

Rufus Putnam.

Rufus Putnam's Journal also illustrates and the history of Massachusetts supports the statement. If, under these circumstances, the cautious mind of the acute and sagacious jurist, instinctively careful to weigh both sides of every question, may have wavered at times under the impression that he might be jeopardizing his interests in Maine in behalf of a distant and doubtful Western venture, posterity will perhaps be able to speak of his vacillation a little more charitably than Dr. Cutler could. It is fair moreover to remember that Dr. Cutler was nothing if not a Federalist, and was amongst the most ardent advocates of the new Federal Constitution, while Mr. Dane had distrusted some of its concessions and had, at the period of its adoption, yielded a halting support, if not actually enrolled himself amongst the distinguished company of its opponents in Massachusetts.

The portrait of Nathan Dane, a copy of that belonging to the Dane Law School at Cambridge, is at the Essex Institute.

motion made in 1785, and extended its operation, as to time and extent of territory, as is above mentioned. As to matter, his invention furnished the provisions respecting impairing contracts and the Indian security and some other smaller matters; the residue, no doubt, he selected from existing laws, etc.

In regard to the *matter* of this note, it is a portion of American law properly and conveniently placed in this appendix. The *particular form* of this note is in answer to many requests, lately made by members of Congress and others, to be informed respecting the formation, the detail and authorship of this ordinance, which in forty years has so often restrained insolvent acts, stop-laws and other improper legislation impairing contracts.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.¹

[Preliminary Sketch prefixed to the Statutes of Ohio, 1832.]

The framer, and to some most important provisions the author, of this great fundamental law destined to exert a mighty and enduring influence upon the happiness and prosperity of millions, was Nathan Dane of Massachusetts. To him in an especial manner are the people of the northwestern states indebted for the restriction upon legislative interference with private contracts, which in every fluctuation of fortune has been the safeguard of public morals and of individual rights. It was adopted after

¹ Born 1808; died 1873; of the sixth generation in descent from Aquila Chase, who was settled in 1640, and whose descendants for a century remained, at the mouth of the Merrimac; made the first compilation of the Laws of Ohio; was governor of Ohio; United States Senator; Secretary of the Treasury; and Chief Justice of the United States.

discussion, without the slightest alteration and with but one dissenting voice.¹

Never probably in the history of the world did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfil and yet so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators. The ordinance has been well described as having been a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night in the settlement and government of the northwestern states. When the settlers went into the wilderness they found the law already there. It was impressed upon the soil itself while it yet bore up nothing but the forest.

Who can estimate the benefits which have flowed from the interdiction by that instrument, of slavery and of legislative interference with private contracts. One consequence is that the soil of Ohio bears none but freemen, another that a stern and honorable regard to private rights and public morals characterizes her legislation. The spirit of the Ordinance of 1787 pervades them all.

* * * * *

The settlement of Marietta was made before the arrival of the governor and judges within the territory. The Ohio company had secured within their boundaries not quite a million of acres. In this district two entire townships were granted for a University, and sections sixteen and twenty-nine in each township were reserved for the support of the schools and religion. The settlers exhibited great energy and perseverance in overcoming the various difficulties of their situation. Among them were men of high character and extensive influence. General Rufus Putnam, a meritorious officer of the Revolutionary Army, and Dr. Manasseh Cutler, a clergyman of strong intellect and large attainments, were leading members of

¹See Dane's General Abridgment of American Law, Vol. IX; Appendix, Note A.

the company; Robert Oliver and Winthrop Sargent¹ also are names well known in the early history of the country.

GEORGE BAILEY LORING.²

[Address at Marietta, April 7, 1883.]

The growth of the ordinance to perfection was slow. In 1784, Jefferson, as I have already said, having on March 1st of that year, in connection with his associates, Monroe, Arthur Lee and Hardy,³ given a deed by which they ceded "to the United States all claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio," presented, as chairman of a committee, a plan for the government of this territory. In his ordinance he provided that "after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in any of the new states carved out of this acquisition of empire to the Republic. This provision he hedged about with all possible constitutional protection which could bind Congress. This section of the ordinance, however, was lost. The votes of South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia were against it; North Carolina was divided; the four eastern states, New York and Pennsylvania were for it. The defeat was a source of great mortification and distress to Jef-

¹ Winthrop Sargent, the ancestor of a distinguished Massachusetts family, was born at Gloucester, of an old Essex County stock, May 1, 1753; H. C., 1771; a ship-master in 1771; naval agent at Gloucester, 1775-6; served honorably as captain of artillery and on staff duty with the rank of major in the Revolution. He was employed by Congress in the Northwest Territory as a government surveyor in 1786, and on the organization of it became secretary of the Ohio Company, and then secretary of the Territory, and removed thither in 1788, but resigned in ten years. He was St. Clair's Adjutant General in 1791 and was badly wounded in that disastrous Indian campaign; but served his successor, General Wayne, in 1794, in the same capacity, and was acting governor of the Territory in 1798 and 1801. He died June 3, 1820.

² Born at North Andover, Nov. 8, 1817; H. C. 1838; Member of Congress, 1877-80; United States Commissioner of Agriculture, 1881-4.

³ Representing the State of Virginia.

person. He never forgot it. He denounced bitterly those who voted against the proposition of freedom, and in 1786, in referring to it, he said, "the friends of human nature will in the end prevail; heaven will not always be silent." And they did prevail. This ordinance, "shorn of its proscription of slavery," was adopted, it is true; but it remained in force but three years, and died when the great ordinance of '87 became a law. In 1785, Timothy Pickering, whose career in the Continental Army, in Cabinet, in House, and in Senate, stands among the foremost of his time for ability, integrity and courage, induced Rufus King, then in Congress, to propose once more the exclusion of slavery from the territories. Mr. King's resolution, offered March 16, 1785, went to the Committee of the Whole and was never heard of afterward. On April 26, 1787, a committee consisting of Mr. Johnson of Connecticut, Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Dane of Massachusetts and Mr. Henry of Maryland, reported an ordinance which was never voted on and which contained none of the sanctity of contracts, none of the sacredness of private property, none of the provisions for education, religion and morality, none of the principles of freedom to be found in the ordinance as it now stands in all its immortal glory. Meanwhile the Ohio Company had been organized in Boston. In January, 1786, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper issued a call for a meeting of organization and the Association commenced its work. The proposition to purchase 1,500,000 acres of land at one dollar an acre was, in those days of bankruptcy and poverty, startling. That it should not have been entirely successful is not surprising. But half the sum proposed was raised and Congress from time to time passed acts relieving the embarrassed company, which secured in the end nearly a million acres of land in three patents issued to Rufus Putnam, Man-

asseh Cutler, Robert Oliver and Griffin Greene in trust for the Ohio Company.

In securing the contract for 1,500,000 acres of land in the Northwest, which was provided for by act of Congress July 27, 1787, and in the passage of the ordinance for the territory on the 13th of the same month, the controlling mind was evidently that of Manasseh Cutler. He had two objects in view : first, the settlement of the new territories of the United States, for the benefit of those men in the Eastern States who had been impoverished by the war of the Revolution ; and, second, the foundation of new states there on the best system of government known to the states already in the confederation.

He was a careful and able student of public affairs. His scholarship at Yale was high. His mind grasped the processes required and the facts revealed by scientific investigation, and the problems involved in political and theological discussion with equal facility and power. He exerted a commanding influence wherever he went. Commencing life on the high seas, he educated himself for the bar and practised for a short time in the courts of Massachusetts. Turning his attention then to the study of divinity, he took charge of a pulpit in Hamilton, Massachusetts, and enrolled his name with that long list of New England clergymen who in that early period exerted a most powerful influence in the colonies, who called around themselves the cultivated men of the times, took part in all momentous endeavors, and who sent into every walk in life sons whom they had educated in the colleges out of their narrow incomes, and who performed most valuable service as merchants, jurists, physicians, statesmen, divines. As chaplain in the Continental Army, as member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as negotiator for the purchase of this great territory, as adviser,

pioneer, law-giver, for these opening states, he has left an example which will always be admired, an influence which will always be felt. His pulpit was but twenty miles from Boston. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he listened to the high debate on the great issues of the hour by Samuel Adams, John Quincy and John Adams; to the masterly argument of James Otis on the Writs of Assistance; to the voice of the people heard in those defiant town-meetings whose resolves foreshadowed the Declaration of Independence, and reached the ear of its immortal author? He had ridden on horseback from his home in Hamilton to meet the retreating British soldiery as they fled from Lexington and Concord, before the fire of the "embattled farmers." He heard the guns at Bunker Hill, mourned for Warren as for a friend, carried comfort and encouragement into the patriot army during the trials of the war. He was surrounded by great men, who always turned to him for advice and counsel. Timothy Pickering, the noble Roman of the War, was his neighbor. General Glover was one of his early companions. Elbridge Gerry, the young and fearless patriot, was the legal adviser of his people. The home of Nathan Dane was within a few miles of his own. Samuel Osgood, Chairman of the Board of Treasury of the United States, with whom he made the contract for the purchase of these lands, was a citizen of the county of Essex,¹ in which this distinguished group resided, and where Cutler had his home. Is it surprising that when Rufus Putnam organized his association for the settlement of

¹ Samuel Osgood was a native of Andover, where his family had flourished since 1645. Born, Feb. 14, 1748; H. C., 1770; died August 12, 1813. He was a member of the Provincial Congress for 1776-80, of the Continental Congress for 1781-4, a member of the Board of Treasury in 1785-1789, and first commissioner, and, between the organization of the present government and 1801, was the first Postmaster General of the United States. He served in the Revolutionary army as an aid to General Ward and as a commissary.

Ohio, he should have sought the aid and advice of Cutler, whose energy and capacity were well known through all the eastern colonies? Is it surprising that when he had enlisted in the work the burden should have fallen on his shoulders? At his touch the enterprise was filled with new life. The attention of Congress was at once arrested and turned to this important measure of multiplying the states in the confederacy as it was developing into a republic. The ordinance which Jefferson and King had failed to carry, and which was incomplete enough as it came from their hands, took shape at once and commended itself to Congress. With his contract in one hand and his ordinance in the other, he appealed to every sentiment of patriotism, interest and humanity as each presented itself among the legislators with whom he was forced to deal. In his proposition there was an extension of country, an absorption of colonial securities, opportunities for speculation, the increase of free territory on the value of which the ablest statesmen, north and south, agreed; and he applied each one of these motives as necessity required. Of his ability to fulfil his contract no man had a doubt. Nor could any member of Congress be surprised at the demand he would make, that the fundamental law of the territory should conform to the highest and most humane law of the land. The ordinance which satisfied him and his associates secures religious freedom to all; prohibits legislative interference with private contracts, secures the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; trial by jury, and of common law in judicial proceedings, forbids the infliction of cruel and unnecessary punishment; declares that as religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of instruction shall ever be encouraged; provides that the territories shall remain forever a part of the United States;

makes the navigable waters free forever to all citizens of the United States ; provides for a division of the territory into States, and their admission into the Union with republican governments ; and declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the territory. Many of the provisions were drafted from the constitution of Massachusetts of 1780. That the views contained in this ordinance occupied the mind of Cutler at that time there can be no doubt. He was engaged in establishing a republican government over a vast extent of territory which he felt would one day, not very remote, form a most important and influential portion of the United States.

He was not to be satisfied with compromises ; and he knew moreover from the propositions made in the past, in regard to the ordinance, that compromises were not necessary to success. He had also ascertained the personal interest in Congress with regard to the occupation of the lands along the fertile valleys of Ohio, and he estimated the strength of his cause accordingly. Everything connected with the enterprise he was engaged in roused all his powers, his skill, his wisdom, his adroitness, his faith in republican government ; and he summoned them all in his work. In the task of framing and presenting this ordinance to Congress he had a most important and powerful ally on the committee to whom the matter was referred. Nathan Dane represented his district in Congress, was his neighbor and friend in Essex County, Massachusetts, and had been all his life under the same social and civil influences as had operated to mould his own views and develop his own character. A calm, conservative, dispassionate, able and accomplished lawyer, Nathan Dane had not given his mind to the construction of governmental policies or to the reforming of abuses. He had large experience in the Legislature of Massachusetts and afterwards a short time

in the Continental Congress. While Cutler was engaged in rousing the people to resist all acts of oppression and "rushing to the fray" at the sound of the first gun and exhorting his flock from the pulpit and surveying the heavens and exploring the earth to discover the laws of nature, considering the unoccupied lands of the West as a home for the swarms which were obliged to leave the eastern hive, and exercising his diplomacy in purchasing those lands and his wisdom in advising the emigrants, and his love of adventure by a solitary journey through the wilderness to the home of their adoption, Dane was a scholar of high reputation at Harvard College, a diligent student of law in the quiet and cultivated town of Salem, a lawyer in the elegant repose of Beverly, a good legislator, a learned expounder of the law, possessed of "great good sense and a sound judgment, faithful to all his duties," and enjoying universal confidence in his "industry, discretion and integrity." Cutler was fortunate in having such an advocate on the floor of Congress, and Dane was fortunate in having such a cause and such a client. A proposition, which in the hands of Jefferson and King had failed as an apparent abstraction, became a vital issue when presented as one of the indispensable terms of a contract between a large-minded practical philanthropist, and the government of a rising republic, called upon to decide the question of freedom at the very threshold of its existence. Dr. Cutler presented himself at the doors of Congress with the terms of purchase in one hand and the terms of settlement in the other, and both were accepted. An unsuccessful measure which on two previous occasions Dane had acquiesced in as a member of the Committees reporting it to Congress, became suddenly under Cutler's force a national necessity. And when the measure was adopted and passed into the great body of American law, Cutler won eternal

gratitude and immortal honor as the founder of free institutions in the Northwest Territory, and Dane secured the high distinction of having brought the measure to a successful consummation. Upon the great cluster of states whose proud and prosperous career was opened by these two statesmen there rest obligations to their memory which should never be forgotten. And I feel confident that you who enjoy the blessings they secured as your inheritance from a most worthy ancestry, will allow me to congratulate myself and my fellow citizens, that for our own state of Massachusetts, for our own county of Essex, for the district which I formerly had the honor to represent in Congress, Manasseh Cutler and Nathan Dane, whose deeds are our deeds and whose ashes repose in the soil we love so well, have established a noble and imperishable record in the history of our country and of mankind.

Ninety-five years have passed away since these events which I have briefly laid before you, occurred, and the first step was taken in the work of occupying the Northwest Territory. The covered wagon on whose canvas top Manasseh Cutler had inscribed "To Marietta on the Ohio," and in which he sent forward the seed whose imperial harvest now lies before us, had stood for days at the roadside in Hamilton for inspection by the curious for miles around, and had traversed the long and weary way hither with its sacred freight. The dark waters of the Muskingum, concealed from view by the heavy overhanging forests, had been divided by the keel of the *Mayflower*,¹ and the germ of the colony had been planted on its banks. Cutler had made his solitary journey to bless and encour-

¹ At Simrall's, Sinoul's or Sumrell's Ferry on the Ohio, thirty miles above Pittsburgh, a flat-bottomed boat had been built, which was called the "*Mayflower*," and in this Major White's party which arrived at the River, Jan. 23, and Gen. Putnam's which reached it Feb. 14, both embarked and made their way to the mouth of the Muskingum.

age the enterprise and had returned to his home in Hamilton. The experiment of organizing a state here had fairly begun. At that day this settlement on the Muskingum formed a part only of the widespread and scattered colonial organization out of which was to spring the American Republic.

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY.¹

[From the *New Englander and Yale Review* for April, 1887, Art. II.]

The close of the war of the Revolution left many able-bodied men unemployed. The manufactures of New England were in their infancy, the supply of agricultural labor greatly exceeded the demand, and there were large numbers of men in early or middle life, capable of enterprise or of fruitful industry, but with no field or opportunity for the lucrative use of brain or hand. At the same time, the disbanded army had been paid in paper of a constantly depreciating value, and not unlikely to become utterly worthless, as it seemed beyond hope that the loose confederation, hardly a government, should fund its debt or take measures for its speedy payment. Meanwhile the confederation possessed a vast domain, including millions upon millions of acres of the most productive land, on or within easy reach of navigable rivers. If such lands were purchased with the paper which many regarded as irre-

¹Born at Beverly, March 19, 1811, in a house now standing on Cabot Street, nearly opposite Washington,—H. C., 1826; Tutor, Plummer professor, preacher to the University and twice acting President, 1826–81; D.D. of Harvard, 1852; pastor of the South Church at Portsmouth, N. H., 1833–60; editor of the *North American Review*, 1852–61; S.T.D.; LL.D.; A.A.S.; the Peabody family has been domiciled in Essex County since 1635.

deemable, and settled by supernumeraries of eastern industry, the consequences would be the relieving of the glut of the labor market, the furnishing of fit scope for the ambition and the vigorous enterprise of men who else would do little more than vegetate, the liquidation of a considerable portion of the public debt, and the increased market value of the remaining portion. It was with such views that, on March 1, 1786, a company was organized in Boston, called the Ohio Company, for the purchase and settlement of land in what was then known indefinitely as the Territory Northwest of the Ohio. The stock of the company was to consist of one thousand shares, each share represented by one thousand dollars in government paper and ten dollars in coin,—the coin to defray the expenses incident to the purchase and location of the land. The company consisted wholly, or chiefly, of men who had been connected with the army, prominent among whom was General, afterward Governor John Brooks. General Putnam, General, afterward Judge, Samuel Holden Parsons, and Dr. Cutler were chosen directors; Dr. Cutler was made agent for the purchase. The reasons for choosing him were perfectly obvious. It was supposed, and rightly, that very difficult and delicate negotiations would be necessary with the members of Congress, then remarkable for the careful nursing of the interests of their several States, rather than for cherishing the well-being and growth of the nation as a whole. Dr. Cutler could carry with him a reputation already established. Franklin had procured the republishing of his botanical paper in the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia; and it may be doubted whether, in the then infancy of advanced liberal culture in this country, there was any American, Franklin alone excepted, who had more than Dr. Cutler of the prestige of superior learning and science, which is never with-

out influence among intelligent men. He had also had larger and more varied experience of life than any other man who could have gone from Massachusetts, belonging as he did to agriculture, commerce, maritime enterprise, the army, and all three of the (so-called) learned professions. He was remarkable, too, for personal presence, address and manners, so that he appeared in society of every type with blended dignity and grace, and had in his conversational power an ease, fluency, and affluence, corresponding to the diversity of his pursuits and attainments.

The memorial of the company had been sent to Congress shortly after its formation, and Congress had at intervals made languid attempts to frame an ordinance for the government of the almost mythical region which it was proposed to colonize. On the 5th of July, 1787, Dr. Cutler drove into New York, where Congress was assembled. It may illustrate the difference between that time and this to say that he accomplished his journey with commendable dispatch, being only twelve days on the road, and that he travelled in his own sulky, — a vehicle probably unknown by name to some of my younger readers, — a two-wheeled one-horse chaise, wide enough only for a single person, — in my boyhood much used by physicians and ministers on their professional rounds. Dr. Cutler carried no less than forty-two letters of introduction, from the Governor of Massachusetts, the President of Harvard College, and other distinguished men. He was received most cordially, and his stay in New York was a round of hospitalities and attentions from members of Congress, officers of the government and leading citizens. He seems to have had an instinctive knowledge, and to the best possible purpose, of the art, which, if always plied with equal unselfishness and honesty, would not have been stigmatized under the

name of lobbying. He wisely sought first the acquaintance and furtherance of the Virginia delegates, who were likely to favor the settlement of a region in part conterminous with their own territory, on a frontier open to incursions from Indian tribes. On the other hand, he did not anticipate sympathy with his enterprise from the Massachusetts delegation, as Massachusetts owned in Maine a vast area of land, improvable, as it has shown itself to be, but then less inviting to emigrants than the West, were the alternative left to their free choice ; while these Maine lands and the possibility that the Ohio company might transmute itself into a Maine Company were skilfully employed by Dr. Cutler to facilitate and expedite his negotiations with southern members.

On the 9th of July the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory, which had been dragging on for many months, without taking shape, was referred to a new committee for a new draft. The chairman of that committee was Carrington of Virginia, whose acquaintance Dr. Cutler had sought and made on the morning after his arrival, and who was unceasingly assiduous in introducing him to men of authority and influence. Another member of the committee was Mr. Dane of Beverly, Massachusetts, who was born in Dr. Cutler's parish, was his intimate and life-long friend, and by ten years his junior. A draft was reported without containing a word with reference to slavery. After its first reading it was submitted to Dr. Cutler by the committee, and returned by him on the afternoon of July 10. His friend Dane, on the 12th, proposed the clause prohibiting slavery forever in the territory. That Mr. Dane favored this policy with his whole heart and soul, no one who knew him could doubt. He was the man to adopt such a suggestion and to make it genuinely his own. But that he originated it he never

claimed. His relation to Dr. Cutler renders it intrinsically probable that his action in this behalf was the result of conference with his pastor, senior, and friend. It was distinctly understood in Dr. Cutler's family that this anti-slavery provision was due to his influence as was also a declaration of principle which proved fruitful of enduring benefit,—"Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." There is, indeed, at this moment, in the hands of Dr. Cutler's descendants a printed copy of the ordinance of 1787, with a memorandum in the margin, stating that Mr. Dane asked Dr. Cutler to suggest such provisions as he deemed advisable, and that at his instance was inserted what relates to religion, education, and slavery. Dr. Cutler's son Ephraim, who was brought up by his grandparents and never lived with his father, and who himself prepared the portion of the constitution of Ohio which contained the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787, gives in a letter the time and place when and where his father told him that he was the author of that clause. The ordinance was passed on the 13th of July by the unanimous vote of the eight States then represented, and by the affirmative vote of seventeen out of eighteen members present, Mr. Yates of New York, who was often in a minority of one, casting the only negative vote.

It must be remembered that under the terms of the Confederation each State cast a single vote, and a majority of the States, seven out of thirteen, was necessary for the passage of any measure. Legislation was sometimes delayed by the lack of representation from a sufficient number of States to secure a needed majority.

At the time of the passage of this Ordinance the States represented were Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey,

Delaware, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. At that time Virginia and Delaware were virtually anti-slavery States, had State anti-slavery societies, and continued to be opposed to slavery till the stimulus given to the cultivation of cotton by the invention of the cotton-gin opened for them a lucrative market for the slaves raised, but not needed, on their own soil. As for the Carolinas and Georgia, they had at their command at the South such immense areas of unoccupied territory, that it was their policy to limit rather than to extend the scope of emigration for their own citizens.

But the anti-slavery provision was passed at the latest possible moment. The Confederation was expiring. The Constitutional Convention was already in session in Philadelphia. In that Convention the interests of slavery, present and prospective, were jealously watched, and in the new Constitution carefully guarded. The time was not far distant when slavery would have encroached on the Northwestern Territory. There is no geographical reason why Ohio, Illinois and Indiana might not have been slave states as well as Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi. As I cannot but read our history, Manasseh Cutler was the providential man who set impassable metes and bounds to the slave power. But for him, American history would have taken its course in widely different channels. The free states would have made hardly a show of counterpoise to the slave states. A paltry northeastern fragment of the country might have remained, or rather become, free soil; but, if so, it would have been sloughed off into a petty and moribund republic, or else would have been retained as a legitimate and desirable hunting ground for such fugitives as could not escape through it to Canada.

The purchase was yet to be made. A law for the survey and sale of lands, in 1785, provided that one section in

every township should be reserved for the support of schools. Dr. Cutler demanded for his proposed purchase the additional reservation of one section in every township for an educated ministry, and of two entire townships for the establishment and maintenance of a university. These terms were not readily agreed to ; but he strenuously insisted on them, repeatedly threatened to go home without completing the purchase, and was as often detained by the importunity of friends who were laboring in his behalf in Congress, and who gradually won over all the recalcitrant members but one, thus producing a unanimous vote of the States in favor of the sale on his terms. He was largely aided in this result by the confidence in the resources of the Ohio region and in the success of settlements there which he inspired from his thorough knowledge of everything that could be known in the premises without exploration in his own person. Those interested in a private speculation, who afterward took the name of the Scioto Company, joined him in the purchase, and the two companies together bought five millions of acres, of which Dr. Cutler for the Ohio Company took a million and a half, at two-thirds of a dollar per acre, in government paper, which was then worth not more than twelve per cent, as currency, so that the land was procured for about eight cents per acre in its cost to the purchasers, yet in obligations which two or three years afterward, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted and established, were worth nearly their face, and to the government were worth their full face in the amount of debt which they cancelled in advance. This was a masterly achievement and, so far as Dr. Cutler knew at the time, on the part of Congress the result of foreseeing patriotism ; and yet it subsequently appeared to have savored overmuch of that charity which begins at home, which has never since failed of large representation

in our public counsels. The agent of the Scioto Company, as it was subsequently called, was Winthrop Sargent, who alone appeared with Dr. Cutler in the purchase. He had been in the preceding year appointed surveyor of the Northwest Territory, and he had an indisputable right to purchase the land which he had surveyed and explored. But it afterward appeared that three of the eighteen members of Congress were interested in the purchase, namely, Duer of New York and Lee of Virginia, who did more than any other men to promote and facilitate the sale, and General St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, who was then President of Congress, and afterward Governor of the new territory.¹ I can see no reason to doubt that the sale to both the Ohio and the Scioto company was in itself eminently wise,—that it hastened the settlement of the territory, invited settlers of a superior type, and secured benefits of inestimable and enduring worth to the states embraced in the Northwest Territory. The sale ought to have been made; but none of the sellers ought to have been among the buyers.

While the ordinance for the government of the territory was pending, Dr. Cutler, after returning the draft to the committee with his amendments, went to Philadelphia, and spent a week there in pleasant intercourse with scientific friends between whom and himself there had been such communication as the slow and costly mail service of that day would permit, but no face-to-face converse. A special interest was given to his visit by the Constitutional Con-

¹ Arthur St. Clair was a Scotchman, and came to America in 1758 with the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot in which he was an ensign. Earned a commission at Louisburg and Quebec, and married a niece of Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts. Settled in Pennsylvania and held civil and military offices until the Revolution when he became distinguished and reached the rank of Major General. He was present at Trenton and at Princeton. Elected to Congress in 1785 and its president in 1787. Governor of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1802. He died poor in 1818. He gave its name to the city of Cincinnati. Upon his controversies and difficulties, political, financial and military it is not necessary to enter here.

vention, which held, indeed, its sessions with closed doors, but which, when not in session, added very largely to the best society of the city. Dr. Cutler took tea and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin, and his description of Franklin's appearance, library, tea-table, and household in his old age, is the most vivid and truthlike home-and-life-picture of the sage that we can find in his entire biography.¹ To his great delight, Franklin spent two hours with him in examining the huge volume, too heavy to be lifted without difficulty, of Linnæus's great botanical work, with colored plates, in which he says that three months' study would have been too little for him. He visited Bartram's botanical garden, inherited, as I suppose, by his son. Dr. Rush informed him that he was the only person named for the charge of a botanical garden about to be established in Philadelphia, and for a lectureship or professorship of botany in the University, and, but for his love of his sacred calling, he undoubtedly would have easily suffered himself to be transplanted into what for a scientific man was then by far the most congenial soil on this side of the Atlantic.

Arrangements were at once made for colonizing the Ohio Company's purchase under the superintendence of General Putnam, and the first party, forty-seven in number, reached its destination in April of the following year (1788). Meanwhile, Dr. Cutler's next work was to prepare a pamphlet designed to encourage emigration, which was printed at Salem in the latter part of 1787, and was shortly afterward translated into French to stimulate French immigration into our western territory.² I cannot find an English copy of this pamphlet; but I have on my table, as I write, a copy

¹ Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. II, p. 363.

² The pamphlet is given in full in the Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. II, Appendix C, pp. 393-406.

of the translation, printed in Paris. It has the unqualified endorsement of Thomas Hutchins, the official geographer of the United States, who says : "The statements correspond perfectly to my own observations during ten years' residence in that country." The pamphlet is entitled, "Description of the Soil, Productions, etc., of that portion of the United States lying between Pennsylvania, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie." The description is remarkable for its geographical accuracy and precision, and its literally authentic and unexaggerated statement of the capacity of the soil and of the advantages offered for access to markets. There is but one word of promise in the pamphlet, which has not been more than fulfilled, and that one word, I am inclined to think, was substituted by the French translator for another more sober and reasonable. It is said : "It will not be *twenty* years before there will be more inhabitants about the western than about the eastern rivers of the United States." I find this statement repeatedly quoted with the word *fifty* instead of *twenty*. It is added : "The government will undoubtedly sooner or later reserve or purchase a place suitable for a national capital, which will be in the centre of population."

Dr. Cutler published, also, in the same year a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Explanation of the map which delineates that part of the Federal Lands, comprised between Pennsylvania westline, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie." In this occurred the prophetic words, as strange as true, bearing concurrent date with the first pre-Fulton experiments of Fitch and Rumsey, which were generally regarded as chimerical and of no hopeful issue :¹ "It is worthy of observation that in all probability steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive

¹ See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. XXIV, pp. 259-271.

river navigation." In 1788 Dr. Cutler went out with a second party of emigrants.¹ He started in his sulky, and somewhere on the eastern acclivity of the Alleghanies, finding the road too rough and steep for wheels, took to the saddle, and rode till he came to the Ohio, about eighteen miles above Wheeling. The rest of the way was by water, and Dr. Cutler having had a hint of the possibility of substituting a screw for oars, though I can find no evidence that the experiment had ever been made, ordered and superintended, during his halt on the banks of the Ohio, the construction, as he says, of a "screw, with short blades, placed in the stern of a boat, which we turned with a crank," the first screw propeller ever made. He adds: "It succeeded to admiration, and I think it a very useful discovery." He and his companions landed at the site where the previous party had erected their log-huts, and gave to the embryo city the name of Marietta. This was the earliest settlement in what is now the State of Ohio. The name was in honor of Marie Antoinette, and though I find no documentary evidence to the point, putting together this name and the translation into French of Dr. Cutler's pamphlet, I am disposed to think that the name was designed as an additional attraction to French immigrants.

To close the narrative of Dr. Cutler's connection with Ohio, though in advance of chronological order, I would say that Ohio University, in Athens, Ohio, the oldest college in the northwest, was founded in 1804, on the endowment of two townships, then valuable property, for which, with a view to this destination, Dr. Cutler had stipulated in his purchase. Dr. Cutler drew up the act of incorporation for this university, arranged its curricu-

¹ See *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, Vol. I, p. 408, Vol. II, p. 53.

lum, and nominated its professors. His stipulation, too, undoubtedly led to similar endowments for colleges in all the northwestern States. In 1795 Washington appointed Dr. Cutler Judge of the Supreme Court of the already populous Northwestern Territory ; but judicial honors were of no more avail than scientific position in withdrawing him from the profession which was his preferred work and chief joy. Three of his sons were prominent citizens of Ohio. His eldest son, Ephraim, was a member of the Territorial and of the State Legislature, and of the convention that framed the Constitution of Ohio, and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas ; and he also bore the chief part in organizing the judiciary department and the common-school system of the State. His second son, Jervis, wrote an elaborate Topographical Description of the States and Territories on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, illustrated with engravings by his own hand. His grandson, William, the son of Ephraim, was a member of Congress from Ohio. In 1791 Dr. Cutler received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale College. In 1800 he was chosen Representative to Congress from Essex County, and served in two successive Congresses. I find but one speech of his on record, and that is on a then pending Judiciary Bill, which, as was doubtless intended on one side as well as apprehended on the other, would impair the independence of the judiciary, by making it in some measure subservient to the legislative department. I have read that speech with admiration. Not only does it seem to me pertinent and eminently wise, but with slight verbal alterations it might serve at the present day as a plea for an independent judiciary with a tenure of office contingent only on life or good behavior. It is the argument of a statesman rather than of a politician, addressed to reason and not to prejudice, and adapted not to persuade, but to convince.

No reader of it would suspect, except from his disclaimer of experience in public affairs, that he was not an adept in their management, of long self-training and abundant practice.

At different periods of his life in his rural parish, Dr. Cutler was elected to membership of the Philadelphia and of the New England Linnæan Societies, of the American Antiquarian Society, and of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, while, in recognition of his professional standing, he was made President of the Bible Society of Salem and its vicinity, which preceded the formation of the American Bible Society, held a very conspicuous place among the religious charities of its time, and notably introduced to the knowledge of the great world the late Dr. Wayland, who delivered at one of its anniversaries and published under its auspices his world-famous sermon on the Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise.

In his favorite department of botany I doubt whether Dr. Cutler's name has a permanent place. In a scientific exploration of Mount Washington in company with Professor Peck, he discovered, among other previously unclassified plants, a *Salix* which had provisionally, but, so far as I can find, did not retain, the name of *Salix cutleri*, and there was a genus that bore his name, but I can find no vestige of it in the present nomenclature.

In the intervals and after the close of his public life, Dr. Cutler received pupils as boarders in his house,—boys fitting for college, young men preparing themselves in mathematics or the science of navigation for mercantile or maritime life, and sometimes students in theology; and such was his reputation as a teacher that pupils from France and from the West Indies were not unfrequently consigned to his care.¹

¹ See Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. I, pp. 88-91, Vol. II, pp. 364-7, n.

At the same time his professional duties were faithfully and lovingly discharged, and he exercised a large and generous hospitality. His parish was small, and imposed less than the amount of parochial service that fell to many of his brethren; but he maintained an intimate, affectionate and beneficent intercourse with all the families of his little flock, and his labor in their behalf was crowned by several seasons of special religious awakening with considerable accessions to the church. His sermons were well written, and impressively delivered, and he was heard with interest in all the pulpits of his neighborhood. In the latter part of his life he was afflicted with asthma, lightly at first—but very severely toward the close. For the last year or two he could not reach the church nor ascend the pulpit without assistance, nor stand to perform the service. But he continued to preach in an arm-chair until within a few months of his death. He died in 1823, at the age of eighty-one, and in the fifty-second year of his pastorate.

In political opinion and action Dr. Cutler was a loyal member of the Federalist party, and had the inflexibility which was at once its merit and its ruin.

In theology he belonged to the Trinitarian portion of the Congregational body, and this undoubtedly from strong conviction, as he survived for several years the division of that body, and left in the more liberal wing almost all his most intimate friends, Dr. Dane, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Bowditch, Rev. Dr. Prince of Salem, more eminent in science than in theology, and Rev. Dr. Abbot of Beverly, with whom he had been specially associated in the interchange of hospitality and of clerical offices. I was in my early boyhood when he died, but I well remember how universally he was honored and revered and how general was the feeling that in the region round about his home he had left no superior, hardly an equal.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.¹

[Oration delivered at the Centennial Celebration at Marietta, April 7, 1888.]

THE necessity was felt for an early provision for a survey and sale of the territory and for the government of the political bodies to be established there. These two subjects were in the main kept distinct. Various plans were reported from time to time. Ten committees were appointed on the frame of government and three on the schemes for survey and sale. Fourteen different reports were made at different times; but from September 6, 1780, when the resolution passed asking the states to cede their lands, until July 6, 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, the envoy of the Ohio Company, came to the door, every plan adopted and every plan proposed, except a motion of Rufus King, which he himself abandoned, we now see would have been fraught with mischief, if it had become and continued law.

March 1, 1784, the day Virginia's deed of cession was delivered, Jefferson reported from a committee of which he was chairman an ordinance which divided the territory into ten states, each to be admitted into the Union when its population equaled that of the smallest existing state. He thought, as he declared to Monroe, that if great states were established beyond the mountains, they would separate themselves from the Confederacy and become its enemies. His ordinance, when reported, contained a provision excluding slavery after 1800. This was stricken out by the Congress. It is manifest, from subsequent events, that, under it, the territory would have been occupied

¹Born in Concord, Mass., Aug. 29, 1826; H. C., 1846; State Legislature, 1852-7; Representative in Congress, 1869-77; U. S. Senator since 1877; President of the American Antiquarian Society and LL.D. of Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and Amherst. His maternal grandmother was a Prescott of Salem.

by settlers from the South, with their slaves. It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso, the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slave-holding states. They would have come into the Union with their twenty votes in the Senate. Their weight would have inclined the scale irresistibly. The American Union would have been a great slave-holding empire. This proposal, so amended, became law April 23, 1784, and continued in force until repealed by the Ordinance of 1787. It contained no republican security, except a provision that the government of the states should be republican.

March 16, 1785, Rufus King, at the suggestion of Timothy Pickering, offered a resolve that there should be no slavery in any of the states described in the resolve of 1784. This was sent to a committee of which he was the chairman. He reported it back, so amended as to conform to Jefferson's plan for postponing the prohibition of slavery until after 1800, and with a clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves; but it was never acted on.

May 7, 1784, Jefferson reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the public lands. This was recommitted, amended and finally adopted. Congress rejected the proposition to reserve lands for religious purposes, but retained a provision for schools. It contained also a clause that the lands should pass in descent and dower, according to the custom of gavel-kind until the temporary government was established.

In 1786, a new committee was raised to report a new plan for the government of the territory. This Committee made a report, which provided that no state should be admitted from the Western territory, until it had a population equal to one-thirteenth of the population of the original

states at the preceding census. This would have kept out Ohio till 1820, Indiana till 1850, Illinois till 1860, Michigan till 1880 and Wisconsin till after 1890. The Seventh Congress expired while this report was pending. It was revived in the Eighth. The clause which would have so long postponed the admission of the states was probably stricken out, though this is not quite certain. But there was little of value in the whole scheme. It contained no barrier against slavery.

This was the state of things when Manasseh Cutler came into the chamber on the morning of July 6, 1787, bearing with him the fate of the Northwest. He had left Boston on the evening of June 25, where, on that day, he records in his diary—'I conversed with General Putnam, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company.'

He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress, he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was

ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete. On the 9th of July, the pending ordinance was committed to a new committee, Edward Carrington of Virginia; Nathan Dane of Massachusetts; Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; John Kean of South Carolina; Melancthon Smith of New York. They sent a copy of the ordinance, which had come over from the last Congress, to Dr. Cutler, that he might make remarks and prepare amendments. He returned the ordinance, with his remarks and amendments, on the 10th. The ordinance was newly modeled and all Cutler's amendments inserted, except one relating to taxation, 'and that,' he says, 'was better qualified.' It was reported to Congress on the 11th. The clause prohibiting slavery, which had not been included because Mr. Dane 'had no idea the States would agree to it,' was, on Dane's motion, inserted as an amendment, and on the 13th the greatest and most important legislative act in American history passed unanimously, save a single vote. But one day intervened between the day of the appointment of the committee and that of their report. Cutler returned the copy of the old ordinance with his proposed amendments on one day. The next, the committee reported the finished plan. But two days more elapsed before its final passage.

The measure providing for the terms of sale to the Ohio Company was passed on the 27th of the same July. Cutler was master of the situation during the whole negotiation. When some of his conditions were rejected he 'paid his respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of his intention to depart that day, and if his terms were not acceded to, to turn his attention to some other part of the country.' They urged him 'to tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to

complete the contract.' He records in his diary that Congress 'came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation.'

From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre provision for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing with Congress at all. Cutler, with consummate wisdom, addressed himself on his arrival, to the representatives of Virginia. Jefferson had gone to France in July, 1784, but the weight of his great influence remained. King was in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was sitting. It was Carrington, of Virginia, who brought Cutler on to the floor. Richard Henry Lee had voted against King's motion to commit his anti-slavery proviso, but the first mover of the Declaration of Independence needed little converting to cause him to favor anything that made for freedom. William Grayson, of Virginia, early and late, earnestly supported the prohibition of slavery, and, when broken in health, he attended the Virginia Legislature in 1788, to secure her consent to the departure from the condition of her deed of cession which the Ordinance of 1787 effected. Some of the amendments upon the original ordinance now preserved are in his hand-writing. To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having

been the draftsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the massive columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country, in her first great act of national legislation, should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the Committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, "gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other southern man who was present in 1787."

A RECORD OF INTERMENTS IN THE OLD OR WESTERN BURYING GROUND IN LYNN, MASS.

MADE BY BENJAMIN H. JACOB.

[Copied from the original record by JOHN T. MOULTON, Lynn, 1855.]

1827.	May 28.	Solomon Moulton	20 yrs
	June 7.	Child of Israel Perkins	4½ mos
	" 26.	Child of Timothy Munroe	Infant
	" 27.	Martha Newhall	79 yrs
	July 2.	Mrs. Eliz. Attwill wife of Zachariah Attwill	69 yrs
	" 5.	Child of Henry A. Breed	10 mos
	" 10.	Mrs. Felton, widow of Nathaniel Felton	
	" "	Child of Mrs. Bisbee	10 mos
	" 19.	Eliz. Segur	
	Aug. 5.	Child of Henry Atkins	
	" 14.	Ebenezer Tarbox	69 yrs
	" 25.	Lois Smith	75 yrs
	Sept. 3.	Child of John L. Alley	17 mos
	" 16.	Child of Andrew Mansfield	
	" 17.	Child of Benj. Oliver	10 mos
	" "	Child of ———	Infant
	" 22.	Child of Jas. Bacheller, Jr.	
	" "	Child of John Shaw of Saugus	
	" 28.	Child of Aaron Bacheller	
	" 30.	Peter Clian, a German	about 39 yrs
	Oct. 10.	Mrs. Homan, wife of Joseph Homan	
	" 16.	Child of Aaron Bacheller	
	" 27.	Female child of Caleb Walden	6 yrs
	" 30.	Child of John Stimpson	Infant
	Nov. 5.	Child of Elijah Holt	18 mos
	" 9.	D. Lindsey	
	Dec. 15.	John Bowler	
	" 21.	Child of Richard Ham	2 yrs
1828.	Jan. 22.	Child of Wm. Skinner	Infant
	" 26.	Widow Mary Lindsey	81 yrs

1828.	Jan. 27.	Child of Mrs. Parton, female	20 mos
	" 31.	Mrs. Lydia Tarbox, wife of William Tarbox	70 yrs
	Feb. 5.	Mrs. Alley	Very old
	"	Child of Allen Breed	Infant
	Mch. 3.	Child of Joseph A. Lloyd	
	" 22.	Wife of Moses	
	" "	Wife and child of Benj. H. Newhall	
	Apl. 1.	Child of True Moody (black)	
	" 5.	Ebenezer Winship	25 yrs
	" 12.	David Wheeler	68 yrs
	" "	Emily Bulfinch	28 yrs
	" 21.	Child of Benjamin Homan	5 mos
	" 27.	Child of Nath'l Newhall	10 mos
	" "	Child of James Pool	10 days
	" 30.	Child of Lewis Alley	20 mos
	May 5.	Child of Samuel Blake	Infant
	" 7.	Child of Alonzo Lewis	14 mos
	June 1.	Child of Samuel Bacheller, Jr.	7 mos
	" 14.	Miss Sealand	25 yrs
	" "	Child of Isaac Story	Infant
	" 29.	Mrs. Parrott	87 yrs
	" 30.	Child of Lewis Alley	3 yrs
	July 2.	Lewis Bruce	66 yrs
	" 4.	Mrs. Sarah Payne, wife of Ebenezer Payne	32 yrs
	" 16.	Mrs. Lois Vans	37 yrs
	Aug. 11.	Child of John Coats	Infant
	" 12.	Son of Moses Annis (Wm.)	16 yrs
	" 13.	Ebenezer Wyman	50 yrs
	" 20.	Mrs. Damer	23 yrs
	Sept. 3.	Child of Moses Allen	15 mos
	" 7.	Child of Timothy Munroe, Jr.	2 mos
	" 12.	Widow Mary Meek	52 yrs
	" 14.	Child of Benj. Newhall	14 mos
	" 17.	Child of Isaiah Hacker	5 mos
	" "	Child of Carey Libbey	14 mos
	" 22.	Child of Benj. Oliver	
	Oct. 6.	Daniel Townsend	64 yrs
	" 27.	Son of Edmund Mansfield	
	Nov. 3.	Child of John Skinner	Infant
	" 8.	———— Newhall	74 yrs
	" 20.	Wife of Peter Tucker	22 yrs
	Dec. 2.	Child of Mrs. Tufts	
	" 10.	Child of Benj. B. Johnson	
	" 23.	Child of John Townsend	

WESTERN BURYING GROUND, LYNN, MASS.

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1828.	Dec. 26.	Abigail Cheever	63 yrs
1829.	Feb. 7.	Sally Frank	supposed to be 45 yrs
	" 10.	Mrs. Lydia Mansfield	88 yrs
	" "	Enoch Merrick	
	" 15.	Wife of Matthew Breed	
	" 17.	Samuel Tarbox	34 yrs
	" 25.	Child of B. Cox	14 days
Mch.	13.	Widow Hitchings	87 yrs
	" 14.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker	
	" 16.	James Pratt	69 yrs
	" 24.	George, son of John Newhall	20 yrs
Apl.	17.	Child of Ezra Mudge	5 weeks
	" 18.	Miss Grant	21 yrs
	" 29.	Burrage Newhall	25 yrs
May	1.	James	
	" 17.	Child of Peter Tucker	15 mos
	" 24.	Child of Capt. Felton	20 mos
June	24.	Wife of Benj. Homan	
	" 25.	Child of Sally Tarbox	
	" 29.	Harry Alley	
July	8.	Wife of James Ramsdell	
	" 15.	Child of Enoch Soule	2 yrs
	" 18.	Mary, dau. of Nehemiah Foster	4 yrs
Aug.	5.	Child of Samuel Newhall	1 yr
	" 13.	Samuel Newhall	32 yrs
Sept.	1.	Miss Lydia Chadwell	19 yrs. 10 mos
	" 2.	Bethiah, wife of James Rhodes	54 yrs
	" 3.	Child of Paul Newhall	Infant
	" 4.	Child of Mrs. Tuttle	Infant
Oct.	25.	Child of Josiah Breed	2 yrs. 3 mos
	" 27.	John Lindsey	
Nov.	3.	— Ames	63 yrs
	" 9.	Joseph Fuller	81 yrs
	" 19.	Carey Libbey's child	Infant
	" 21.	Hannah, wife of Benj. Cook	23 yrs
	" 23.	John L. Johnson	63 yrs
	" 30.	Ezra Hitchings	64 yrs
Dec.	8.	John H. Burrill	54 yrs
	" 19.	Wife of Nehemiah Johnson	39 yrs
	" 22.	Widow Barry	83 yrs
	" 25.	Child of George Oliver	1 week
1830.	Feb. 20.	Child of Andrews Breed	7 mos
	" 22.	Ellis Newhall	37 yrs
	" 23.	Wife of Josiah Newhall	39 yrs

1830.	Feb.	27.	Wife of Timothy Johnson	60 yrs
	Mch.	1.	Ephraim Sweetser	53 yrs
	"	"	Child of Zechariah Graves	2 weeks
	"	6.	Widow Clifford	69 yrs
	"	8.	Benjamin Aborn	28 yrs
	"	11.	Child of John Lye	Infant
	"	13.	Child of John Skinner	3 mos
	"	"	Twin children of Hiram K. Bryant	Infants
	"	22.	Deborah Bailey	63 yrs
	"	27.	Child of John Coats	Infant
	Apl.	5.	Child of William Bancroft	
	"	19.	William G. Newhall	36 yrs
	"	22.	Eliza L. Ramsdell	15 yrs. 5 mos
	"	"	Child of Moses Yell	20 mos
	"	23.	Child of James Hudson	Infant
	"	28.	Oliver M. son of Jesse Rhodes	3 yrs
	May	1.	Child of David Harwood	Infant
	"	5.	Wife of James Hudson	37 yrs
	"	6.	Widow Stocker	
	"	9.	Child of Jacob Alley	Infant
	"	11.	Jesse L. Bacheller	32 yrs
	"	28.	Widow Lydia Merrick	50 yrs
	June	3.	William Rhodes	42 yrs
	"	4.	Daughter of George Johnson	5 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Henry Newhall	7 mos
	"	"	Hannah Ramsdell	37 yrs
	"	12.	Francis Beckford	33 yrs
	"	19.	Child of Warren Rogers	
	July	5.	John Farrington	80 yrs
	"	17.	Wife of Francis Spinney	
	"	18.	Wife of John I. Emerton	25 yrs
	"	22.	Child of Robert Rogers	Infant
	"	23.	Child of Samuel P. Page	1 yr
	"	"	Child of John Barry	Infant
	Aug.	4.	Child of William Stanwood	1 week
	"	10.	Miss Nancy Moulton	
	"	16.	Child of William Babb	4 yrs
	"	21.	Child of Samuel T. Huse	
	"	26.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker	2 weeks
	"	27.	Child of Jedediah Newhall	8 weeks
	"	28.	Jason, son of Joseph Atkinson	20 yrs
	Sept.	2.	David Crane	80 yrs
	"	3.	Amos Tapley	47 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Daniel Felton	11½ mos

1830.	Sept. 12.	Wife of Nehemiah Breed	
	" 13.	Child of Griffith Jones	5 mos
	" 21.	Child of Levi Robinson	1 yr. 7 mos
	" 29.	Child of Charles P. Barry	9 mos
	Oct. 5.	Child of Francis Spinney	3 mos
	" "	Child of Amasa Paul	2 yrs 3 mos
	" 11.	Child of William Tuttle	18 mos
	" 12.	Blaney Walton	30 yrs
	" 15.	Burrill Lye	33 yrs
	" 23.	Joanna, wife of Benj. Alley	73 yrs
	" "	Henry Bacheller	55 yrs
	Nov. 11.	Samuel Sargent	54 yrs
	Dec. 7.	Sally Tarbox	33 yrs
	" 11.	Micajah Newhall	74 yrs
	" 24.	Harriet	31 yrs
	" 29.	Child of Carey Libbey	Infant
1831.	Jan. 5.	Aaron Lummus	74 yrs
	" "	Child of George Oliver	3 mos
	" 16.	Child of Benjamin F. Newhall	16 mos
	" "	William E. Ramsdell	34 yrs
	Feb. 21.	Wife of Calley Newhall	73 yrs
	" 23.	Benj. H. Newhall	26 yrs
	Mch. 6.	Samuel Bacheller	74 yrs
	" 17.	Griffith Jones	
	" "	Sarah N. wife of Wm. Chadwell	
	" 31.	James, son of Jesse Rhodes	22 mos
	" "	John Humphreys, son of George Brackett	3 yrs 9 mos
	May 31.	Isaac Organ	70 yrs
	June 2.	Joseph Brown	70 yrs
	" 6.	Child of John Collins	Infant
	" 9.	Sophia D. daughter of David Ellis	6 yrs 2 mos
	" 15.	T. Lynch	
	" 21.	Child of Moses Yell	15 mos
	July 2.	Rev. John E. Weston	
	" 10.	Legaré Johnson	
	" 14.	Jonathan Bond	37 yrs
	" 16.	Charles Alley	29 yrs
	" 23.	Betsey, wife of John Alley	65 yrs
	Aug. 2.	Daughter of Timothy Munroe, Jr.	10 mos
	" 8.	Child of Samuel Blake	Infant
	" 12.	Child of Hugh Davis	3 yrs
	" 22.	Child of Moses Alley	1 mo
	" 30.	Child of Thomas Frothingham	4 weeks
	Sept. 23.	Mary, wife of D. L. Mudge	36 yrs

240 INTERMENTS, WESTERN BURYING GROUND, LYNN, MASS.

1831.	Oct.	6.	Wife of John Farrington	80 yrs
	"	8.	Child of H. A. Breed	6 mos
	"	28.	Child of H. A. Breed	2 yrs. 2 mos
	Nov.	6.	Child of David Worthing	10 mos
	"	"	Child of Nehemiah I. Pratt	5 mos
	"	8.	Child of Mrs. Perkins	Infant
	"	9.	Child of Henry Williams	Infant
	"	11.	Child of Mrs. Fowler	Infant
	"	14.	Child of Benj. Johnson	9 mos
	Dec.	13.	Benj. Massey	45 yrs
	"	14.	Wife of Joseph Rhodes	70 yrs
	"	"	Nathaniel Tarbox	78 yrs
	"	15.	Rebecca Chessman	79 yrs
	"	"	Child of James Bacheller, Jr	Infant
	"	28.	Abraham D. Phillips	
	"	29.	James Gardner	69 yrs
1832.	Jan.	10.	Ebenezer Richardson	85 yrs
1833.	Jan.	22.	Derby Atkinson	
	"	"	Child of James Atkinson	
	"	25.	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	Feb.	9.	Harris Chadwell	
	"	"	Child of Luke W. Dow	
	"	"	Child of John Lye	
	"	26.	Wife of James Collins	
	Mch.	3.	Wife of Samuel Mulliken	
	"	4.	Child of Mrs. Fenn	
	"	5.	Holt Breed's mother	
	"	27.	Child of William Stone	
	"	"	Child of Richard Valpey	
	"	31.	Child of Robt. W. Trevett	
	"	"	Child of Nathaniel Peck	
	Apl.	4.	Jesse Rhodes	
	"	14.	Son of Ebenezer Hall	
	"	15.	Child of Enos Breed	
	"	19.	John Lindsey's mother	
	"	"	John B. Newhall	
	"	"	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	"	22.	Child of Levi Robinson	
	"	24.	Child of John Caldwell	
	"	26.	Child of Henry Atkinson	
	"	27.	John Mudge's mother	

[To be continued.]

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SEMI-HISTORICAL RAMBLES AMONG THE
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PLACES
ALONG SAUGUS RIVER.

BY NATHAN M. HAWKES.

THERE is not a nook-shotten locality in Old Essex which has changed less in a hundred years than this charming river-valley where these sedate places complacently hold their own, heedless of innovations about them.

The writer loves every tree, rock, hillside, brook, woodland path and recollection associated with them. The writing of these slight hints concerning them has been a pleasure which will be heightened if the reading shall interest others.

THE TARBELL PLACE.

It is well to gather up and preserve bits of local history before they become dim traditions by oral transmission. There is an old homestead and farm in the southwestern corner of Lynnfield which deserves a passing glance from its associations.

Upon its eastern boundary flows the placid Hawkes Brook ; its southern boundary is the dividing line between Saugus and Lynnfield ; its western boundary is the Saugus

River, which is also the line between two towns, Lynnfield and Wakefield, and between two counties, Middlesex and Essex; its northern boundary was the farm of George L. Hawkes, which came to him through a long line of worthy ancestors.

It is now absorbed in his great estate. As he has no use for the buildings, it may be that ere another generation they will be no more. Indeed, the barns and the connecting lean-to have already disappeared in smoke and fire. Few, save old natives, could find this place.

The big, homely old house is in a secluded, yet sunny spot, far from the road. Back of it towers a great boulder that timid strangers were afraid to drive by. Wooded hills on the north and east keep off the chill east winds of our rugged climate. From its southern windows the eye looks upon as pretty an interval, bordered by as sparkling a river and framed by as verdant hills, as old Essex can show.

This for a century has been known as the Tarbell Place. Here after the Revolutionary war came Jonathan Tarbell from the South Parish of Danvers, now Peabody; with him came his wife Elizabeth (Cook) Tarbell. His father, Jonathan Tarbell,¹ came here and died in this house. After these two there likewise lived and died in this house and was buried in the family tomb, upon the estate, a third Jonathan Tarbell. Of what interest is it at this time when the name is extinct in this locality?

Let me briefly relate the story. On the nineteenth of April, 1775, some two hundred brave young men marched from the village green in the South Parish of Danvers, to

¹Jonathan Tarbell, Sr., was the grandson of John Tarbell of Salem Village, whose name will be ever noted as the master spirit in the ecclesiastical contest with that arch-conspirator of the witchcraft delusion, Rev. Samuel Parris, which finally ejected Mr. Parris in disgrace from the county, and vindicated the Christian name of Mr. Tarbell's wife's mother, Rebecca Nurse, the victim of superstition, in 1692

Lexington, twenty miles away. A tragedy there took place. Every school-boy the world over feels his pulse beat more quickly as he reads the tale of the first blood shed in the war of American Independence. Seven Danvers men gave their lives, that liberty might live.

The Lexington monument in Peabody, fittingly standing on the spot whence the start was made on the fateful morning, commemorates the names of the heroes who fell. The first on the list is "Samuel Cook, æt. 33." By his side, when the British bullet struck his heart, stood his brother-in-law, Jonathan Tarbell. On the twentieth he tenderly carried his dead home to Danvers. Both were members of the company commanded by their relative, Capt. Samuel Epps.

Service at Lexington was a patent of American nobility. These men of Danvers were the farthest from the scene of action of any who reached the battlefield. Let it be remembered that the fatalities of Danvers were larger than any other town, save only Lexington itself. The name Tarbell as a surname is lost in this locality.

To be exact, the conveyance was from Joseph Jeffery and his wife Priscilla to the senior Jonathan Tarbell. The consideration was five hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence. The acres numbered one hundred and sixty. The witnesses were Jonathan Tarbell, jr., the militiaman, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent and Asa Newhall. The latter married the sister of the grantee, and his family has kept the name in prominence in state affairs to this day. The deed is dated April 12, 1775, a few days before Lexington, and was recorded April 21, 1775, a few days after the battle. The magistrate was Timothy Pickering, jr. Save for the new road from North Saugus to the Andrew Mansfield place, not a line nor a wall has been changed from that day to this. The white

oak tree mentioned in the incorporation of the district of Lynnfield, July 3, 1782, as follows, "Beginning at Saugus River near a white oak tree in Jonathan Tarbell's lower field," may have gone with the family. Everything else remains unchanged.

The excuse of the writer for this little sketch is the fact that, by one of his genealogical lines, he is descended from Jonathan Tarbell, the soldier of Lexington, and was born in the old house.

AN ANCIENT HOUSE IN NORTH SAUGUS.

Old houses and old homesteads have always had a fascination for a certain intelligent class in every community. The attraction is not due to the elegance of the place, nor to the greatness or wealth of the founder. With our English-descended race it is an ingrained reverence for our fathers and a continuing hunger to know something of our kin. The individual man passes on, but often leaves behind him some material objects which seem to defy time and endure for after generations, some members of which are intuitively made to feel the touch of the prior user, or builder, or enjoyer.

For example, the writer has an old oaken armchair which has been in daily use for at least five generations. It is one of his most valued possessions, not on account of its having any money value, but simply because it brings him very near to a man who sat in it to a good, old age. This man died more than sixty years ago. His chair is more than a hundred years old and his house is much older. His sword,—for his Revolutionary title as appears by the parish records was lieutenant,—happily unstained by blood, is in the same room, and is now only a terror to children and old people.

Having been frequently asked if there were any ancient

houses in the old Lynn which is now Saugus, the writer presumes to recall this one, partly because of his connection with it and also by virtue of the fact that the water system of Lynn bids fair to largely change the old landmarks of our rural retreat. One mile southeast, as the bee flies, from the Tarbell place, over the line into Saugus by way of an ancient native American trail, almost under the shadow of Indian Rock, which was a guide and trysting-place for the red man, stands a venerable house. It closely hugs the earth, as though its builder foresaw the centuries during which bitter winds and pitiless storms would blow over it, and so rooted it down to the soil. As if to still further anchor it to the spot, it had a great chimney, which, when removed forty years ago, gave space for a fair-sized sleeping-room.

The house was built about 1725, by Moses Hawkes, son of Moses, to whom the land came under the will of the first settler. In 1708, the first Moses, a young man with a family of minor children, found it expedient to call upon his neighbor, the celebrated speaker, John Burrill, to write his will. He gave one-half of his farm to his eldest son Moses, with the option of taking either the home part or what was called the Neck, and then he died. When the son Moses reached his majority in 1725, he put on record in the Registry of Deeds, at Salem, his election to take the Neck and commended his "Honored Mother, Margaret" (Cogswell) and his "Honored uncle Ebenezer" the executors of his father's will, for their management of the estate during his minority. Then he married Susannah Townsend, kinswoman of Daniel Townsend, who was immortalized by heroic death in the next generation at Lexington.

The house stands on the north side of the road from North Saugus to Wakefield, a few rods west of the school-

house, which is upon land taken from the farm. Of course it faces due south. No true Yankee farmer ever violated this rule of common sense. The custom was to select the most eligible spot on the farm—with the tillage and grazing land in front—let the roads conform to the house—not the other way.

To Moses and his wife Susannah was born a large family. Moses was active in forming the Third or West Parish (Saugus). Upon his son Nathan, born in this house in 1745, fell his mantle in church and civil affairs.

Nathan was united in marriage with Sarah Hitchings, Sept. 3, 1769, by the noted Parson Roby. He was parish clerk during a period of Mr. Roby's pastorate. The friendship of pastor and clerk was very close. The son of one married the granddaughter of the other. In death they were not separated, as their graves are side by side in the old Saugus churchyard. This man who was born, who lived and died in the same house, has the distinction of being the last, if not the only, selectman that Saugus furnished Lynn before the separation. He was one of the board in 1805-1806-1807. During his service the final divorcement of town and church took place in Lynn. The contention between the first church and town was solved by the town meeting being held in 1806 in the Methodist church. In 1811, James Gardiner and Nathan Hawkes were a committee of the town to build the road so long known as the Downing road. It was so named because the contractor whom the committee employed was Caleb Downing.

Recently the fields back of the house have been disfigured by the abortive ditch to Howlett's pond, which the future will style Lynn's water folly. To the east, the natural union of the Hawkes and Penny brooks has been stimulated by the same municipal authority. On the south, beyond the green meadows and beyond the plain at the

point of the Neck, the two brooks mingle with the waters of Saugus river and swell the power that works the looms below. In the little square house, with the four-sided roof meeting at a point, east of the brook and south of the present schoolhouse, the Rev. Edward Taylor, afterwards founder of the Seamen's Bethel in Boston, first shouted Methodism. In this house he received the rudiments of education, and under its roof he was entertained during his itinerancy.

Before the building of the first schoolhouse, the first detached school of the Third Parish was established in an apartment of this house. In David N. Johnson's Sketches of Lynn is found the first school report made to the town of Lynn. The outlying districts were Nahant, North Saugus and Swampscott, thus mentioned. "Your committee also visited Nahant; found nine present. Also the school at Nathan Hawkes'; present twelve. Also John Phillips; number fifteen subjects. All the schools visited were in good order." This school report is dated April 14, 1812.

Although Nathan continued his interest in school matters through life, his crowning and important achievement was the establishment by the Legislature of the town of Saugus. He was the principal petitioner for this act, and for the contest, his ripe experience in town affairs, and the recognition by the people of both parts of the town of his ability and fairness, amply qualified him to win the Legislative battle which added Saugus to the list of Massachusetts towns in 1815.

Allusion has been made to a way of the by-gone days, which few living now recall, though easily tracked. The two houses are connected by an incident which the young, at least, can appreciate. The red men silently trod this trail in whatsavants call the "Stone Age," traces of which are found on all the brooksides in this region. In youth,

the writer wondered who had enjoyed these secluded paths since that time. He now knows that one man who was born a subject of King George in 1775, and lived on to the midst of our war of the Rebellion in 1862, enjoyed the tramp through these solitudes from North Saugus to Lynnfield. He hunted different game, however, in the glen. His hunt was crowned with success. He did not live in the Stone Age, for the Lynnfield Parish records relate the marriage by good, old Parson Joseph Mottey, of Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan of the West Parish, to Elizabeth Tarbell, Jan. 22, 1805.

This place illustrates the difference our flexible land laws make between us and our old home. The first white man in North Saugus was Adam Hawkes. Like a true Englishman, he loved the soil he tilled. He brought with him English notions of primogeniture. When he began to set his house in order for the great change, he attempted to provide for his eldest grandchild by a clause of his will which is copied in the spelling of 1671.

"John Hawks is to deliver and sett out unto Moses Hawks, his sonn, which he had by rebeckah Hawks, daughter of Mr. Moses Mavericke and his heirs for ever one haulf of that fearme which the said Hawks lived and died upon, boath upland and medow and houseing being in Lyn, only for the houseing the said Hawks is to paye the value thereof if he please, all of which is to be don when the aforesaid Moses coms to twenty and one years of age and if it please god the said Moses dye before the age of one and twenty years, the said estate is to goe unto his father John Hawks, and his children forever, this aforesaid guift is the legacy of Mr. Adam Hawks to his grandchild Moses Hawks."

The scheme was not a perfect success, for little more than two hundred years have elapsed, and this old house and the close about it only remain to the kin of Moses;

while the patrimony of his younger brethren is still held by their descendants in unbroken line. The cause is not hard to find. The boys to till the soil were too few—or they took to themselves wives and went their way.

In earlier years the apple-trees bloomed about this hospitable mansion. The garden was fragrant with the scent of old-time shrubs and flowers. Alas! landlord absenteeism is as blighting in New England as in old Ireland, and the place is not as it was when some of its builders' kin occupied it.

NOTED NAMES UPON A REVOLUTIONARY COMMISSION.



Colony of the }
Massachusetts-Bay. }

The Major Part of the COUNCIL of the *Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England,*

To *Nathan Hawkes, Gentleman,* Greeting.

YOU being appointed *first Lieutenant of the Second Company, whereof John Pool is Captain of the first Regiment of Militia in the County of Essex, whereof Timothy Pickering, Jr., Esq. is Colonel.*

By Virtue of the Power vested in us, WE do by these Presents, (reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct,) Commission you accordingly.—You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a *first Lieut.* in leading, ordering and exercising said *Company* in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers; and to keep them in good Order and Discipline:—And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their *first Lieut.* and you are yourself, to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time

to Time receive from *the major part of the Council or your superior Officers.*

GIVEN under our Hands and the Seal of the said Colony, at Watertown, the Twenty Sixth Day of April —In the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and Seventy Six.

By the Command of the }
Major Part of the Council }

Perez Morton,

D Secry.

J. Bowdoin,
James Otis,
W. Spooner,
Caleb Cushing,
J. Winthrop,
B. Chadburn,
T. Cushing,

John Whetcomb,
James Prescott,
Eldad Taylor,
J. Palmer,
S. Holten,
Moses Gill,
Michael Farley,

Jed'h. Foster.

The student of American History will pardon the introduction of a time-stained, yet well-preserved document, which bears the autographs of a noted band of leaders of Massachusetts thought.

The first on the list is James Bowdoin, member of the first Continental Congress, and second Governor under the Constitution. The last, Jedediah Foster, was a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature. Thomas Cushing was eight years Lieut. Governor under Hancock and Bowdoin, and as Mr. Drake says, "friend and co-worker in the patriot cause with Adams, Otis and Warren." Moses Gill was six years Lieutenant and Acting Governor. He was also a member of the two Electoral Colleges which elected George Washington President.

John Winthrop and Caleb Cushing were the Revolution-

ary representatives of names preëminent in our early and late history.

The modest name, S. Holten, stands for Dr. Samuel Holten, an Essex County man, a sketch of whose active and versatile life is given in Mr. White's charming history of Danvers. He is there described as, "all things considered, the most remarkable man the town has ever produced." Michael Farley, of Ipswich, was another Essex man. His native town gladly bestowed all its offices upon him, and he was also a member of the Provincial Congress, High Sheriff and Major-General of Militia. The Historian of Ipswich says that "he excelled in State-craft."

Every name of the fifteen was the signature of a patriot and man of mark. James Otis, however, towers above all as one of the most brilliant luminaries that any revolutionary epoch of the human race ever produced. He dedicated Faneuil Hall as the "Cradle of Liberty," and it was he "whose electric eloquence was like the ethereal flash that quenched its fire."

These men were denounced by King George as traitors. His army of occupation drove them from Boston. They took the blank papers of the Royal Governor and went out to Watertown, where they set up a rebel government. They carefully erased all reference to "His Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God," etc., and then, upon forms which plainly show in the water-mark the Crown, the British Arms and G. R., they boldly issued commissions to their fellow subjects to make war upon the stuffy old king:—to defend American liberties and to maintain the priceless heritage of freedom, which their fathers had left home for, a hundred and fifty years before.

This commission was one of those issued by "The Major Part of the Council" upon its own responsibility, before the General Court passed the Act of May 1, 1776, abolishing

the regal style. The signatures in the original are upon the left hand as in modern papers. The types compel them to be placed under the body of the writing, instead of in the margin. This famous "Major Part of the Council" continued to be the Executive Authority in the Massachusetts Bay Colony till the adoption of the Constitution in 1780.

NOTES ON AND ABOUT A SAUGUS POND.

The olden-time oracles—the autocrats of our ubiquitous shoemakers' shops—are vanishing figures, soon to be seen no more. The noise and confusion of modern machinery has robbed us of the picturesque and contemplative figures of other days. A few of these unique philosophers still linger upon our borders beyond the smoke of city factories. One such, an old Lynner, the bearer of one of our oldest names, to which he does no discredit, has much interested the writer. He is not a hermit, nor a recluse, though he lives alone. He weekly comes to Lynn to bring in his set of hand-made shoes. His abode is one of the ancient shops somewhat larger than the common type. It serves him for a dormitory, dining-hall, work-room, museum of curiosities and reception-room. Under his white hair is a wealth of knowledge of past and present. He is specially strong on Lynn pedigrees. His abode is pleasantly situated upon the headwaters of Pranker's pond, and is reached by as romantic a walk from Saugus Centre as youthful lovers or plodding seniors can find in a day's journey. Up this pine-embowered, rock-shadowed, water-bounded path many a town father and village worthy wend their way as far as this wayside reminder of other days.

Though scarcely a house is in the range of vision save the dwelling on the same place where some of his kin reside, at no season can this be a lonesome place, for in summer the disciples of Izaak Walton resort to the lily-padded

pond in the vain search for the venerable pickerel that tradition says is to be found in some deep recess. In winter the same persevering anglers cast their lines through the ice, and occasionally a snow trotting park is to be seen. Nature in summer is full of sound of bird, of bee, of insect, of sighing pines, of murmuring brooks and of voices innumerable. In winter there is oftentimes an almost uncanny stillness. Yet upon this pond in this deathly silence, on the glassy track, under the winter's dull sky, there will come a crash—not the down-pouring of heaven's artillery, not like the rattle of musketry, but rather the sullen opening of a cannonade. The hills on the east catch the sound, and the echo rebounds against the rocky wall across the pond. The Saugus river is raising the ice, air-holes are formed, and the north wind, aided by water, ice, air and sound, is playing its tricks with Nature hitherto so pale and motionless.

This devious path is well worth the attention of the few who are not the slaves of fashion and vanity. Why is it that a vast majority of our people can see nothing in life, save a sordid grasping for dollars and a silly display of the fact that they have succeeded in the scramble? What do they enjoy? A pair of docked-tail horses, a lolling woman, clad in purple and fine linen, a pug dog and a funeral procession round the stereotyped, society-dictated drive through Swampscott. Yonder is a beetled cliff upon which Helen MacGregor might have appeared and checked our advance with:—"Stand and tell me what ye seek in MacGregor's country." Down these glades to the music of the bagpipes the plaided followers of Rob Roy might have marched. The scenery at your very doors, good people of Lynn, is as romantic and attractive as that of bonny Scotland. It only needs the touch of some Wizard of the North—some Walter Scott—to people it with creations that will live forever.

The people who first used this way after the white settlement were utilitarians, however. To them the woods were full of demons rather than fairies. Hard-headed practical yeomen, they builded better than they knew, for they unwittingly, as early as 1706, created parks for the benefit of the people forever. It was in this wise. The town divided the common lands in "Seven Divisions." The first division began on the west side of Saugus River, including what was then and is now called the "Six Hundred Acres," which were then in Lynn. This tract of land has exactly the same appearance it had when the old Puritan first looked upon it. Once in a generation the woodman's ax despoils it and lays bare the masses of primeval porphyry. But in a few brief years Nature hides the rude scars and the hills are covered with hardy New England trees. This is the vote of that remote day which kept the forest intact and unvexed by walls or enclosures :—"The towne considering the great difficulty of laying out highways on the common lands, by reason of the swamps, hills, and rockenēs of the land, theirfore voated, that after said common lands shall be divided, every person interested therein, shall have free liberty at all times, to pass and repass over each others' lotts of lands, to fetch their wood and such other things as shall be upon their lands, in any place or places, and for no other ends, provided they do not cut downe any sort of tree or trees in their so passing over."

Lott Edmands, through his wife, the daughter of one John Burrill, was the owner for the larger part of the present century of this estate, which was known as the Burrill Place. Mr. Edmands was one of the characters of Saugus of the past, and it was the ambition of the late celebrated Joseph Ames, the artist, to paint his typical Yankee head. The old man, however, was fonder of relating his prowess in litigation than in posing for posterity, and so the picture

was lost. Something stronger than accident must have drawn Mr. Edmands to this locality. The very air hereabout is redolent of disputations. This apparently calm and innocent pond has been the promoter of lawsuits innumerable from the earliest days.

Adam Hawkes, the first settler, harried the Iron Works' proprietors for flowing his lands in North Saugus, down to his death in 1671. Then the Iron Works were worked out, and a hundred years later in 1770, just above the old site, Ebenezer Hawkes, the descendant of the former flooded land owner, became himself the flower by building a dam and a grist-mill and saw-mill where the present Pranker's dam stands. Down from generation to generation the lawsuits and contentions went on till in the fullness of time Lott Edmands came upon the scene to revel through life with the mill owners in a series of forensic sparring matches. Here to a green old age he lived, and his greatest pleasure was to fight his battles over again as he looked out upon his land which he had contested with the water from below.

This was not the residence of the law-loving Mr. Edmands. His home was the house occupied by Daniel Hitchings in the Revolutionary period, a quarter of a mile to the north, still on the west bank of the serpentine Saugus. The old house upon this place is an oddity in the country. In the seaport towns it was common to build houses three stories in height, or rather two stories with a demi-story above. Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth are full of such. This one is *sui generis*. There is nothing like it in prosaic life. In romance it may remind the admirers of Miss Woolson's "Anne" of Jeanne Armande's half-house. Its secluded location and concurring circumstances gave occasion for the suspicion not so many years ago that it was occupied by tenants, who in the unfrequented wilds of the

South are called "Moonshiners." To-day, however, the honest yeoman's waving corn is in no danger of passing through the illicit still.

The half house obstructs somewhat the northern view from our point of vantage. Still we can see beyond the Newburyport Turnpike—beyond the pleasant western interval of Oaklandvale, with its perennial silver stream, Crystal Brook—up into this grand old forest, behind which the sun sets—up that imposing promontory, Castle Hill, which marks the line between Middlesex and Essex and is the highest landmark in southern Essex.

A QUAKER HOME ON THE DOWNING ROAD.

WHEN an old house has been dormant for a generation or two, and has awakened to the tread of young feet of the same race, is it well to depict the past for the use of the future? Why not? Long holding seems to be evidence of something worth holding—something capable of enduring beyond one simple life. Be that as it may, there is an ancient mansion in North Saugus, the soil about which has never known a change from the direct line of family ownership since the first Englishman paddled his canoe up the Saugus River, and spied out the possibilities of husbandry.

And there are three other houses within sight of the smoke of each other's chimneys of which the same tale can be told in this dear old Sleepy Hollow hamlet. The house, never imposing, but always respectable, is on the east side of Walnut street, just before that street crosses the Newburyport Turnpike. It is within a stone's throw of the spot where the Puritan pioneer, Adam Hawkes, built his cabin in the wilderness. Between it and the road stood a line of sturdy buttonwood trees, and, clearer description still, there is planted forever the "corn-barn rock" upon

which, not many years since, the deserted corn-barn stood betwixt the trees and the house.

Query! How many people about here know what a corn-barn was? The corn-barn set high on posts, with abundant ventilation, filled, heaped up with golden Indian corn! How it delighted the thrifty farmers' eyes! What suggestions of huskings and pudding and milk! Even a look at it made the young blood tingle, and the memory almost brings up the vanished past. There are still living a few good souls who will smile and pleasantly recall this old house when we call it by its then designation, the home of the Quaker old maids.

It was a praiseworthy custom with *Friends* when a stranger minister came to Lynn to spread among the scattered members, notice of the arrival. Eben Stocker,¹ still living at an advanced age, as a boy lived with the Breed family at Breed's End. When the warning reached Breed's it was their duty to pass the word to the Hawkes family—the remote outpost of the Friends—at North Saugus. It was Eben's delight to be ordered to mount the old horse and post up the Downing road. The ride was in itself pleasant, and at the end of it were interesting old ladies, berries, shagbark nuts and doughnuts. What more could youth and health ask for? The old ladies have gone to their reward, the berries have been crowded out by trees and cows. The rough exterior that hides the good heart of the shagbark draws boys yet, and here, still good for the future as the past, is the old house.

In his early days the writer was a frequent visitor, but our people in New England country towns have such a

¹ Ebenezer Stocker died at Lynn, Oct. 19, 1888, aged eighty-seven years and eight months. His father was an officer in the Revolutionary War from Lynn. The son is believed to have been the last survivor of the sons of Revolutionary soldiers resident in Lynn.

habit of using the side door that he did not know till a generation had gone that the house had the orthodox front door on the south.

What a place that open attic, stored with trophies of the chase, with disused implements of olden industries such as spinning wheels, was for boys to sleep in! What matter was it that two boys awoke one morning and found that through some crevice the fleecy snow had blown in upon their bed? Life was young then and they were all the warmer. And one of those boys was the most loyal and affectionate brother a boy ever had and lost.

The very boards in the floor of the *best* room show the trees our virgin forests grew. There have not been sawed within this century boards so wide, so clear as these that have been trod by the feet of prattling children, of sturdy manhood, and of old age, as is the law of nature, whereby children are born, reach maturity, decay, pass away and then are re-created to travel over the same old course. Our race ought to improve if each generation saves something from the one which goes before.

This room boasted a rarity for a little country hamlet. It was the pride of a thrifty housekeeper's heart — a *beaufet*. It must have been jolly to have sat about the fireplace of a winter's evening and to have watched the lights and shades play through the room and among the shining treasures displayed on the beaufet.

The demands of modern luxury and labor-saving civilization have hidden our fires in the walls, have banished the reverie provoking back-log, the bright andirons, and buried the china and silver *Penates* behind dark and locked doors. Is there not in all this some loss, some sacrifice of the old Saxon idea of home?

In this home was born a child, who in manhood became an active agent in the separation of Lynn and Saugus.

Ahijah Hawkes was chairman of the Board of Selectmen of Saugus for the first three years of its corporate existence from 1815 to 1818. His colleagues were Jonathan Makepeace and Richard Mansfield.

And this house saw the last of the mild black slavery that lingered in Massachusetts till the adoption of the Constitution in 1780 gave the boon of freedom to Ebenezer Hawkes' Phebe. The house was built by Ebenezer Hawkes in 1765 on land which he purchased of his father, Samuel Hawkes, and erected coincident with a ceremony, the record of which is copied from the original in the manner and spelling of the colonial days:—

"Whereas Ebenezer Hawkes, of Lynn in the county of Essex, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Black Smith, Son of Samuel Hawkes, of Lynn, aforesaid, AND Rebecca Alley, Daughter of Samuel Alley, of said Lynn, House Right, HAVING Declared their Intentions of taking each other in marriage before several public meetings of the people called Quakers at Lynn and Salem according to the Good Order used among them, whose proceedings therein after deliberate consideration thereof with regard unto the Righteous Law of God and Example of his people Recorded in the Scriptures of truth in that case and having consent of parents and others concerned they appearing clear of all others were approved by said meetings NOW these are to certifie, all whome it may concern, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions this Seventeenth Day of the Fourth Month, called April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred sixty-five, the said Ebenezer Hawkes and Rebecca Alley appeared in a public assembly of the aforesaid people and others met together in their public meeting place, in Lynn, and in a solemn manner, he the said Ebenezer Hawkes, taking the said Rebecca Alley by the

hand, Did openly declare that he took her to be his wife, promising through the Lord's assistance to be unto her a loving and faithfull Husband untill Death should them separate AND Then AND There in the said assembly, the said Rebecca Alley, did in like manner declare that she took the said Ebenezer Hawkes to be her husband, in like manner promising to be unto him a faithful and loving wife till death should separate them And MOREOVER, the said Ebenezer Hawkes and Rebecca Alley, she according to the custom of marriage assuming the name of her husband as a further confirmation thereof, Did then and there to these presents set their hands, and we whose names are hereunto Subscribed being present among others at the solemnising of their said marriage and subscription in manner aforesaid as WITNESSES hereunto have subscribed our names the Day and Year above WRITTEN

Nathan Breed
 John Basset
 Ruth Estes
 Anna Estes
 Desire Breed
 Elizabeth Graves
 Martha Estes
 Lois Collins
 Sarah Alley
 Elizabeth Collins jr.
 Lydia Breed
 Enoch Collins
 Daniel Newhall
 Samuel Collins
 Ebenezer Breed
 Isac Basset
 Joseph Striker
 Benjamin B. Burchsted
 Zaccheus Collins

Ebenezer Hawkes
 Rebeckah Hawkes

 Samuel Alley
 Hugh Alley
 Nehemiah Breed
 Matthew Hawkes
 Sarah Alley
 Philadelphia Hawkes
 Sarah Hawkes
 Hannah Estes
 Deborah Alley

 James Purinton
 Jabez Breed
 Isaiah Breed
 Abijah Newhall
 Hannah Breed

In the certificate of marriage which is given in this paper the groom is described as a blacksmith. This was a peculiarly appropriate designation, as the iron ore used

in the first iron works in America was taken from this farm. And there were iron workers in each generation to his time. When they outgrew the old homestead they went to Salem and Marblehead and became makers of anchors and chains and whatever in that line appertained to the fitting of the growing industry of the maritime towns.

Zaccheus Collins, the last signer, was the noted penman of Lynn in his time, and the diarist for forty-four years, who is much quoted by Lewis, in his History of Lynn. Being a Quaker, his diary is not as piquant as that of his English (nearly) contemporary, Samuel Pepys, but perhaps fully as reliable.

Many of the other signers of this instrument will be remembered by their descendants. Capt. Hugh Alley, who ran the first packet from Lynn to Boston, was among them.

Nehemiah Breed, who signed early as an elder or relative, was the son of Samuel Breed, who—Nahant being then without an inhabitant—bought the land and built the house, in 1717, where Whitney's Hotel now stands. There, when he signed this paper, Nehemiah lived, and he and Ebenezer were the north and south poles of Lynn Quakerism—the extreme points of Nahant and Saugus.

The English turnstile guarded the little by-path that led to the house through the avenue of nut-trees. On the north was the village smithy and beyond it was the close. To the east, where myriads of wild pigeons flew, were the great meadows, through which flowed from the dark forests of Lynn the limpid waters of the stream now called Penny Brook. The only apparent occupation the babbling stream has had to perform for many years has been to shield from frost the red acres of bright cranberries that Mr. Samuel Hawkes has so zealously cultivated. Few of the world's people have seen this hidden intervale, with its border of pines and willows, and great boulders that might

have been thrown into the meadow in some monster upheaval of Nature. But now all is to be changed. The stream which since creation has meandered on till it mingled with old ocean in common with the other feeders of the Saugus, is to be diverted into the omnivorous throat of the city of Lynn. And then, farewell! glen of quiet — welcome, pond of sweet water! May the people of Lynn who shall enjoy the blessings of its store not forget those who guarded it for many generations till the law of eminent domain claimed it at their hands for the public good.

Above all other races of men our English stock, emerging from the forests of Germany, leaping the North Sea into Britain, worshipped Nature, and, like Robin Hood's outlaws, executed justice in her temples. One more giant stride planted the virile seed in the wilderness of New England. The denizens of the hot-house life of cities know not how men grow and broaden as they watch noble trees stretch out their protecting arms as they did over their fathers, and as they will over their children after them. Such training may not fit men for the fopperies of life, but it makes reflective, reasoning human beings, who see something beyond the polish on a man's boots or the style of his hat. There is a vigorous oak tree upon one of the farms of this ancient estate under which some years since several persons stood. One queried, "How old is this tree?" The answer told the story of reverence and attachment that was an augury of future as well of past possession,— "It is a hundred and fifty years old."

A HOMESTEAD BY GRACE OF THE INDIANS ¹

On the 13th of November, 1675, by order of the General Court, fifteen men were drawn from Lynn for service in

¹Since the above was written, a Legislative Act has given the Revere Water Company privileges in the Valley of Crystal Brook, the exercise of which will mar the surroundings of this long unvexed manse.

the celebrated King Philip's War, in addition to those previously detached. Among these was Daniel Hitchings. This is the first time his name appears in the printed Annals of Lynn. That he lived through the struggle and came home a thrifty planter, as cunning as the wily savages he had fought, is manifest by the fact that before the town had secured a release of the Indian titles, it is recorded that on the 28th of July, 1686, "James Quonopohit and David Kunkshamooshaw, descendants of Nanapashemet, sold a lot of land on the west side of the Iron works' pond to Daniel Hitchings." The Indians, who gave this deed, were the last of the race of the Sagamores who had ruled over the land before the pale-face came. They had retreated before the invasion as far inland as Mistick and Chelmsford. They still had a shadowy claim upon the soil. Their pedigrees and their autographs may be seen in the elaborate account in the History of Lynn. Sir Edmund Andros came over as the Royal Governor in the year these deeds were given, and it is not strange that when he saw these signatures he said they reminded him of the scratches of a bear's claw. Later in the same year, the authorities of Lynn secured from these same Indians a sort of blanket release of all the lands of Lynn and Reading.

The present sketch does not reach to generals, but only has to do with the land of Daniel Hitchings. He was nearer the Indians than most of his neighbors in Lynn, and consequently more anxious to be at peace with the red-skins than they. It is to be borne in mind that in the time of the Iron Works the dam was several feet higher than it is at present. The late Lott Edmands, who was an authority upon the subject, used to say that in those days the water must have flowed as high as the sill of his, then, residence. This would have carried the water up the valley of Crystal Brook for perhaps a quarter of a mile. The

boundaries and descriptions of those days were ofttime vague, but this one admits of no doubt. East of the "Iron Works' pond" was an unbroken wilderness, untouched to-day. North of it was the domain of Adam Hawkes, or of his son John. At the west was an arable tract of land, which, from generation to generation — through the ups and downs of life — we find in the possession of the successors of Daniel Hutchins, or Hitchins, or Hitchings.

In this Indian deed it is called the Plough plain, and it embraced all that sweep of intervale from the Saugus River, where the Newburyport Turnpike now bounds it on the east, through to the present Melrose. The deed may be seen in the Essex Registry of Deeds, Book 7, page 88. Where naturally would have been planted the home buildings of such an estate, stand to-day venerable farm buildings. The dwelling house upon the "plough plain" must have stood just where is the house now owned and occupied by Elizabeth and Hannah Hawkes, whose grandmother was Sarah (Hitchings) Hawkes, the daughter of Daniel Hitchings.

This Daniel Hitchings, who, during the Revolutionary War lived in the house next east of this one, since known as the Lott Edmands place, was the descendant of the first Daniel Hitchings; so that this old house is still in the possession of the lineal descendants of the white settler who first took it — Englishman like — by squatter sovereignty; and then quieted title by buying off the poor Indian. Only a fragment of the original grant attaches to the house under consideration. The boundaries of the thirty acres about this place are the same they were many more than a hundred years ago. The outlying wood lots, and salt marsh too, have followed the ownership of the house — the characteristic stone wall of the fathers still marks it from the common lands on the north, and the town

way runs around it south and east, and the only names mentioned in the deeds as abutters on the west in this period, are the two successive owners, Elkanah and Nathan Hawkes.

This house has the antique cased beams of oak, showing in the ceiling of the lower rooms—and bracing the upper floors. There was a time when it was the ambition of the writer to grow tall enough to grasp these beams. Now when he enters the low, sunny rooms he takes his hat off lest it hit the beam. It still retains the peculiar, long, sloping back roof, once so common, which is the only roof ever devised to get the best of Boreas in these northern climes. The writer has been informed by the press that there has been a revival of the andirøn and beaufet period. He is aware of a bastard imitation of the old. He is cognizant of the craze to frequent auction rooms, where old clocks made to order, at a week's notice, are to be had. He is familiar with the fashion of placing the chimney on the outside of the house in imitation of negro quarters in the south, and calling it a Queen Anne cottage, but all sensible persons know that the fathers were wise when they put their chimneys in the centre of the house in this bleak climate. Under these sloping roofs, opening from the second story, lighted by little windows on the east and west, is a queer recess, accessible only to the high priestess of the household. It is triangular, in mathematical parlance. The floor is the base, the partition of the rooms in front is the perpendicular, and the roof is the hypotenuse. The garret is free to favored children, but this inner temple contains sacred emblems which only the most exalted degrees entitle one to look upon. Can these things be duplicated in the house built to-day by contract? No. In spite of the profane sneer, there is some sentiment in most men stronger than even the glitter of gold in their eyes.

There was no lapse in the Hitchings name and occupation till May 6, 1765, when Joseph Hitchings conveyed to young Adam Hawkes, then just of age and married to Hannah Newhall. Adam was the son of John and the grandson of Moses. When Adam took possession, besides the house now standing, there was an old house upon the premises which has since disappeared. Adam died while still a young man. His kinsman, Thomas Hawkes, administered upon the estate, and after its sale his widow and children removed to what is now Wakefield, where his descendants yet remain. Joseph Hitchings, the grantor, was the son of Elkanah, who was the son of Daniel.

In 1785, the buildings upon this place were identical in form and fact as they are seen to-day. Fortunately, the frenzy for modernizing, or so-called improving, has not affected the various tenants. The books teach the law of holding lands in fee simple, but no individual has yet been able to secure more than a life-tenancy in any real estate, save his little plot in the churchyard.

June 5, 1785, Thomas Hawkes, administrator of the estate of Adam Hawkes, conveyed the estate to Samuel Sweetser, jr. This was not an alienation, for the wife of Samuel was Lydia, daughter of John Hawkes. Samuel kept the place till March 26, 1807, when, having in the meanwhile adopted the present spelling of the name Sweetser, he gave it back to the original owner's name in the person of Daniel Hitchings. It happened in this case that the grantee's wife was Eunice, the daughter of Elkanah Hawkes. The next change passed it into the possession of Ebenezer Hawkes, whose wife was the daughter of Daniel Hitchings. Then came Cornelius C. Felton and Caroline Plummer of Salem and James Draper.

The Draper family owned and occupied this house from 1827 till its conveyance to Nathan Hawkes in 1848. Here

lived and died Ira Draper, an ingenious mechanic, from whom his sons Eben and George inherited the inventive talent that created the lively town of Hopedale.

Forty years ago, Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan Hawkes of the Third Parish, retired to this little farm to spend the declining years of a serene old age. Here he died in 1862 at the age of eighty-seven years. His boy companion in many delightful rural drives through the by-ways of the border-land of Essex and Middlesex, unconsciously absorbed the impressions that seek expression in these papers.

Dr. Edward A. Kittredge, the eccentric physician and humorous writer, who ought to be remembered as "Noggs," lived for a time in a cottage under the pines west of this place. In a lecture at Wakefield he said that it was a truism that there were exceptions to all general laws, but that the only exception to the rule that water would not run up hill had been illustrated by his neighbor, Nathan Hawkes. In one of his experiments for draining his low lands he had turned the water, so that it apparently ran up hill. The doctor and the veteran guider of the rill of water died many years since, but the water still runs in the channel cut for it, and if the doctor was right it still runs up hill. It yet travels the same way, for the boy who saw the channel dug has watched it every season since—when the buds were swelling, when the snow was blowing, when the crows were feasting upon the young corn, and when the pumpkins were ripening in the autumn sun.

The northern line abuts upon the common woods—The Six Hundred Acres. Through its centre from Oaklandvale and Melrose flows the calm and even-tempered Crystal Brook, till within sight of the house on the east, beyond the turnpike, it joins the Saugus, under the shadow of a hillside colored with foliage that no painter dare imi-

tate. The road to this place, zigzagging in a generally northern course from the Oaklandvale schoolhouse, is arched by the interlacing tree-tops and is styled in the ancient records, "the town way from Lynn to Reading." Since it ceased to be a town way of Lynn, to become one in Saugus, it has been left to work out its own salvation, which is the usual course in a country town when its road surveyors or commissioners do not chance to live in the vicinity. It must be remembered that town officials are apt to slight such matters because they are not taught nor paid for æsthetics.

The way by the house to the north looks like a no-thoroughfare. Many a traveler as he scans the disused road repents and turns about, yet there is an old road that leads out by Howlett's mill, a mile beyond. It is a picturesque scene that meets the eye of the bold stroller who ventures up this region, which may be haunted by the shade of "old Bill Edmands." There are rocks and rills well worth seeing. There are abandoned apple-orchards, vainly struggling with native trees for possession. Not a vestige of the buildings where the pugnacious Mr. Edmands lived can be seen. The cellar where he stored his potatoes and horsed his barrels of cider, the New England farmer's beverage, can scarcely be distinguished from a last year's woodchuck's hole. There is a grim record on the books of the town of Saugus relative to this road. It was not meant as satire, but it sounds like it. Mr. Edmands had a petition before the town meeting for some improvement. The clerk gravely records that the vote was against the prayer, "William Edmands only, voting yes." Like his brother Lott, William loved a lawsuit better than his dinner. He won and lost, and at the end was like Esop's litigant: he had the shell of the oyster only. But this is a digression, simply introduced to show the wayfarer that

he was not obliged to turn around and retrace his steps when he reached this vale of serenity—this restful abode bounded by mossy walls of past ages.

REV. JOSEPH ROBY AND HIS TIMES.

“‘Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours
And ask them what report they gave to Heaven.”

To even wander in thought along the Saugus River of the past, and not to largely mention Parson Roby, would be as absurd as is the trite saying in reference to playing the story of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark,—for he was the spiritual guide of the people of the West Parish of Lynn for more than fifty years.

When Mr. Roby came to Saugus, the strictness, though not the influence, of Puritanism had relaxed. He was better fitted to the new than to the old. He was born in Boston in 1724, graduated in 1742, and ordained minister of the Third Parish in 1752. He served this parish fifty-one years.

He was an excellent scholar and was highly esteemed for his social virtues. He was not disputative nor combative like many of his creed. He was the benevolent father rather than the austere teacher of his people. We find two published Fast Day sermons of his, one in 1781, the other in 1794. His first wife was Rachel Proctor, of Boston, and they had seven children.

Parson Roby's tombstone is in the old churchyard just by the spot where the meeting-house stood. It is by the roadside in the centre of a group that is a touching reminder of the closeness of our ancestors' family relations. The inscription of the stone at Mr. Roby's grave reads as follows :

“Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Roby, who departed this life January 31st, 1803, in the 80th year of his age and 53d of his ministry in this parish.

"Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

"By a constant practice of the Christian and social virtues, he rendered himself beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, wouldst thou be honored in life and lamented in death, go and do likewise.

"No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade thy bounds; no mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here
While angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus slept: God's dying Son,
Passed thro' the grave, and blest the bed;
Then rest, dear saint, till from His throne
The morning break and pierce the shade."

By his side is seen the name Rachel Roby: next are the marble records of Nathan and Sarah Hawkes. Beyond may be seen the names Daniel and Rachel Hawkes, and between all, white and pure and spotless, is the stone that tells of young life taken away on the threshold of promise,—Rachel Hawkes. These three couples, after walking side by side the allotted span of man, have beside them this fair flower of youth and innocence, this beautiful Rachel, great-granddaughter, granddaughter and daughter.

The Parson Roby house yet stands where it was built, but it is now upon the "Main" street of Saugus. When he lived there it was a mere lane. The Parson visited his scattered parishioners on horseback. All other traveling, except on foot, was done with clumsy ox-teams, which crawled creaking along the uncertain way. The driver of an ox-cart had abundant leisure for contemplation and need of patience.

This was the time that saw the becoming knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and bright buckles, go out of fashion and the ugly long trousers come into vogue. Gallant horseback-riding was the rule and not the exception.

The Puritan Sabbath, maligned though it is, despite of long sermons, was the weekly day of rest when the whole community came together to exchange gossip, wit and information. It was a rural meet, where right living, rather than the tawdry display of modern churches, was considered a mark of superiority.

Conditions and needs change. An electric railway or a German Sunday may meet a craving of to-day, but the fathers enjoyed their way and by it they grew rich in grace, having founded the ideal civilization of the world. They reared strong sons and daughters, fit to combat error in all its forms. Was not this enough of pleasure for a rugged race of men, who saw something beyond the mere day,—eating and drinking—and to-morrow—gone?

It is the fashion nowadays to lash the Puritan and bewail the strictness of his rules for life and conduct. No man of the times who was worthy of or desired in such a community ever found fault with the regulations which themselves originated. It was only the evil onlookers among their contemporaries who protested, and the scoffers of later days who cry out against them. Suppose they did not have certain amusements of to-day. One man or one generation has no right to sit in judgment upon another.

People talk glibly of the austerity of our fathers. Read this from the Parish Records of 1781, March 25 :—"Parish met according to adjournment: excused Ezra Coates from being Parish Clerk and chose Major David Parker; adjourned to meet at Jacob Newhall's Innholder, the 8th day of April." This is the first vote of the kind on the records, though such are frequent afterwards, there being a desire to make the meetings a little more genial, cider and flip not being prohibited. After this the warrants called the meetings at the Meeting House, but the adjourned meetings were uniformly to be had at "Landlord" Newhall's.

Mr. Roby was an exemplar in many ways of the compact force of organized Puritanism. He made himself a part of the people to whom he dedicated his life-work. With the early teachers there was no drifting about from parish to parish. When his calling was assured it was to live and die and be buried with his own. Such men as he identified themselves with the air, the soil, the traditions of the locality, becoming as it were a part of all.

Let it be understood that Mr. Roby, in spite of his amiability, was a true member of the Puritan church militant. The Puritan was to the backbone a fighting Christian. Those who staid at home cut off the head of King Charles, and later, drove his ignoble son into servile retirement under the protection of the King of France. Those who came to these shores were about to enter into a gigantic struggle with the arbitrary power of the Crown, which resulted in the dismemberment of the British Empire and the foundation of the Great Republic.

Four days after the battle of Lexington, on the 23rd of April, 1775, the people of Lynn chose a committee to consult measures of safety. This committee consisted of Rev. John Treadwell, minister of the first parish, Rev. Joseph Roby, minister of the third parish, and Deacon Daniel Mansfield. On the next Sunday, by recommendation of the Provincial Congress, all men who lived within twenty miles of the seacoast went to church armed. The Parson carried under one arm his cartridge-box, his sermon under the other, and went into the pulpit with his musket loaded. Bunker Hill came, and then war with its horrid mien passed away from Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. Roby's Christian name calls attention to a marked characteristic of the Puritan. Down to the Revolution few children were baptized in New England, who did not bear a Hebrew name. England had been Anglo-Saxon, Roman,

Danish, Norse and Norman. Other races and creeds had heroes and saints, but the Puritan had one book—the Hebrew Scriptures. From it he took his faith and his children's names.

The village green, where stood the House of God in which Parson Roby preached and practised for so many years the unadulterated doctrines of pure Puritanism, still remains to please the eye and to recall an age which was kinder and less intolerant than modern historians are prone to picture.

"Happy are the people whose annals are blank." There is a mine of wisdom concealed in this sentence. A quotation from Gibbon in English, or from Voltaire in French, may tend to illustrate the meaning. "History, which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind."

These people lived long and affluent lives and impressed their personalities upon the community and upon following generations, because and by virtue of the absence of tumult, excitement and controversy. While the great outer world was convulsed, Saugus minded its own affairs, reared its children, tended its sick, buried its dead, and flourished by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. There was no history here, but much that tended to develop and equip the stock for the contest—for the possession of a continent.

Puritanism has dominated New England for two hundred and fifty years. It has stamped its virtues upon the great belt of States from Plymouth Rock by the Atlantic to the Golden Gate of the Pacific. It may be that here at home, under changed conditions, it will not be able, hereafter, to hold this supremacy. Let us, therefore, while the past is vivid, while its traditions are in such bold relief, gather and guard memorials of a sturdy race.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT SAUGUS CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

(Continued from page 76.)

In memory of Mr. Joseph Raddin, who died June 28, 1818, Aet. 38.

In memory of Mr. Joseph Raddin, who died July 22, 1831, Aet. 25 years.

Beneath this humble stone is deposited the remains of Mrs. Betsy Radin & child, consort of Mr. Robert Raddin. Obt. Aug. 6, 1802, aged 25.

My days of trial Oh how few,
I die to find the gospel true :
Be wise my friends, your souls to save,
Attend the warning from the grave.

Erected in memory of Emily Radin, daughter of Mr. Robert and Mrs. Betsey Radin, Obt. June 18, 1802, Aet. 9 mos.

Happy the babe who privileged by fate
To shorter labor and a lighter weight,
Receiv'd but yesterday the gift of breath,
Ordered to-morrow to return to death.

In memory of Jerusha Raddin, daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Sally Raddin, who died, Nov. 22, 1795, aged 10 mos.

Honored parents, fare you well
My Jesus doth me call :
I leave you here with God until
I meet you once for all.

Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Elizabeth Ramsdell who departed this life July 20th 1768. Aged 73 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Nancy, wife of Mr. Joseph Rowe, who died April 25, 1841, aged 29 years.

Farewell dear wife, thou art gone to rest,
Gone to be an heavenly guest;
To shout and sing redeeming love
With all the heavenly host above.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev.^d Joseph Roby who departed this life Jany. 31st 1803, in the 80th year of his Age and 51st of his ministry in this Parish.

Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

By a constant practice of the christian and social virtues, he rendered himself greatly beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, would'st thou be honored in life and lamented at death, go and do likewise.

No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade these bounds. No mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here,
Whilst angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus sleeps, God's dying son
Past thro' the grave and blest the bed:
Then rest dear Saint, till from his throne
The morning break and pierce the shade.

Sacred to the memory of M^{rs} Rachel Roby, late Consort of the Rev.^d Joseph Roby who died March 8, 1792. Aet. 66.

The memory of the just is blessed.

In memory of Mrs. Zeruiah Roby, Relict of the late Rev. Joseph Roby of Lynn.

She died Jan. 12, 1820. Æ. 80.

Piety, virtue and benevolence
Adorned her life and supported her at death.
Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

In memory of Miss Sarah Roby daughter of the late
Rev. Joseph Roby, who died March 12, 1818, Æ. 47.

Sweet soul, we leave thee to thy rest
Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God:
Till we from bands of Clay released
Spring out and Climb the shining Road.

In memory of Deacon Ephraim Rhodes, obt. Dec. 29,
1788. Aged 73.

The sweet remembrance of the just,
Shall flourish when they sleep in dust.

In memory of Deacon Asa Rhodes, who died April 18,
1842. Aged 92 yrs.

Also his wives—

Sarah, died Aug. 12, 1800, aged 44 yrs.

Elizabeth, died May 1812, aged 60 yrs.

Mary, died Dec. 26, 1833, aged 79 yrs.

The memory of the just is blessed.

Samuel Rhodes, son of Mr. Hezekiah and Abigail Rhodes,
died Aug. 14, 1741, in ye 7th year of his age.

Mary Rhodes, daughter of Mr. Hezekiah & Abigail
Rhodes, died Aug. 25, 1741, in her 4th, year.

Abigail Rhodes, daughter of Mr Hezekiah and Mrs.
Abigail Rhoades, died Sept. 4, 1741, in her 2^d year.

Mary Rhodes, daughter of Josiah and Hepzibah Rhodes,
died Dec. 16, 1743, in her 7th year.

In memory of Mr. William Sweetser, who died March 19, 1811. Æt. 87 years.

“Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.”

In memory of Mrs. Lydia Sweetser wife of Mr. Wm. Sweetser, who died Oct. 24, 1818. Æt. 83 years.

The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

In memory of Mr. Samuel Sweetser, who died Aug. 8, 1815. Æt. 57.

Beneath the clods in silent dust
I sleep, where all the living must :
When Jesus calls the saints arise,
With joy ascend the lofty skies.

In memory of Lydia Sweetser, who died July 22, 1843. Æt. 83 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Benjamin Sweetser who departed this life, May 8, 1819. Æt. 58 years.

My life, my all sufficient good
My portion and my choice :—
In thee my vast desires
And all my powers rejoice.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Dorothy, wife of Mr. Benjamin Sweetser, who died June 18, 1839.

Give glory to Jesus our head
With all that incompass his throne :
A widow, a widow indeed
A mother in Israel is gone.

In memory of Harriet wife of Henry Sprague, who died, Aug. 24, 1839 in the 24th year of her age.

She is gone and oh ! why should we murmur or weep
For the few that in Jesus have fallen asleep ;
She has gone to a world to partake of that bliss
And to share in those joys that she knew not in this.

Julia Ann M., daughter of Mr. Stephen and Mrs. Angelina Smith, who died Jan. 1, 1829, aged 1 yr., 7 days.

In memory of Sarah Elizabeth daughter of William and Polly Stocker, died January 21, 1833, aged 4 months.

Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest
God called thee home, he said 'twas best :
Rest in the bosom of his love,
Soon we shall come thy joys to prove.

In memory of Lucy B. Stocker, who died May 6, 1843.
Aged 27.

Oh, wipe away that gathering tear
No cause of grief is witnessed here :
There's naught but dust beneath this sod
The soul, we trust, is with its God.

—H. S. 1801—

In memory of Mr. Holmes Sargent, son to Mr Samuel & Mrs. Anna Sargeant, who died Nov. 27th, 1801. Aged 19 years.

'Tis done, nor let one sigh your bosom heave,
With much submission still your God adore :
Cease, my fond parents, cease, nor rashly grieve,
Soon shall we meet in heaven, to part no more.

Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. William Taylor :
Who departed this Life Janry the 23^d, 1769. Aged 72 years.

In memory of Edward K. Tuttle, who died Nov. 17, 1842, ag. 21 yrs., & 4 months.

Also, Orin Tuttle, who died Oct. 24, 1840, ag. 2 yrs. & 9 months.

Children of Thomas and Nancy Tuttle.

Sleep, sleep, thou dear departed children,
 Thy parents tears shall wet thy sod :
 Early flowers shall deck thy grave
 While angels bear thee home to God.

In memory of Thomas Tuttle, who died July 17, 1852,
 ag. 53 yrs. & 6 mos.

Farewell my wife and children too
 I can no longer stay with you :
 My portion in heaven I wish to share,
 Prepare for death and meet me there.

My family dear this place draw near
 And here my grave to see ;
 Not long ago, I was with you
 And soon you'll be with me.

(*Monument.*)

Samuel Tuttle, died Jan. 8, 1858. Æt. 54 yrs. 4 mos.

Benj. F. Tuttle, died April 23, 1866. Æt. 30 yrs.
 & 5 mos.

Mary Tuttle, died May 5, 1867. Æ. 64 yrs. 10 mos.

David, died May 15, 1840. Æt. 9 years.

Charles W., died May 24, 1840. Aged 4 years.

Horace, died May 26, 1840. Æ. 2 yrs.

Thomas, died April 16, 1843. Æ. 19 yrs.

George H., died Feby. 17, 1844. Æ. 18 yrs.

Samuel L., died March 26, 1848. Æ. 3 yrs.

John A., died Sept. 19, 1849. Æ. 27 yrs.

Children of Samuel and Mary Tuttle.

These ties of life and kindred love
 Which Death's cold hand so soon can sever,
 Shall reunited be above
 In one unbroken band forever.

In memory of Mr. Benjamin Wilson, who died Aug.
 19, 1843. Æt. 75.

In memory of Mr. Benjamin Williams, died Aug. 27, 1841: Aged 63 years.

Also, Mrs. Ruth, his wife died Nov. 4, 1841: Aged 59 years.

Low in the dust our parents lie,
And no attentive ear is nigh
But God to mark our way :
No hand to wipe away our tears,
No gentle voice to hush our fears,
But Christ the Orphan's friend.

Here lyes y^e Body of M^{rs} Abigail Wait, wife to M^r Jonathan Wait who departed this life April 4th 1763 in y^e 75 year of her age.

(*Monument.*)

In memory of Rachel wife of David W. Wyman died May 14, 1840, Æt. 30.

Also, their child Elizabeth Ann died May 10, 1840. Æt. 5 yrs. & 3 mos.

Let no ungrateful tear be given
Or murmur linger where we lie,
The weary spirit has but flown
To brighter lands and milder sky,
We calmly rest on Heaven's own word,
Tho' ties so dear are rent in twain :
Flowers cut thus down in early morn
Transplanted there shall bloom again.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 136.)

126 Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, whose first wife and children are entered under 114, married, second (in 1780), Miss Elizabeth Bartlett, the daughter of Hon. Enoch and Katharine (Dummer) Bartlett of Haverhill, Mass., and a great-great granddaughter, through her mother, of President John Cutts of Portsmouth, N. H.

The only child by this marriage was :

321 Mary Pepperrell, b. in Kittery, Maine, June, 1781; m. Hon. William Jarvis, March, 1808; d. 1811.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bartlett Sparhawk died in June, 1782, and was buried in Haverhill, Mass. In 1786, Nathaniel Sparhawk married, third, Miss Deborah Adams of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

They separated after a short life together, and she remained at home while he went to London. He returned after a long absence and took up his abode with his sister, Mrs. Dr. Charles Jarvis, in the old family mansion at Kittery, Maine. There he died in 1815, and his sister passed away during the same year. Mrs. D. A. Sparhawk married Dr. Abiel Pearson in 1816, who died in 1827.

127 William Pepperrell Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Royall, daughter of Hon. Isaac and Mary McIntosh Royall of Medford, Mass., Oct. 24, 1767.

322 Elizabeth Royall, b. April 17, 1769; m. Rev. Henry Hutton.

323 Mary Hirst McIntosh, b. Nov. 2, 1771; m. Wm. Congreve, Esq., s. p.

324 Harriot, b. Dec. 17, 1773; m. Charles Thomas Hudson (Lord Palmer), July 14, 1802.

325 William Royall, b. July 5, 1775; d., unmarried, Sept. 27, 1798.

William Pepperrell Sparhawk became chief heir of his grandfather (Sir William Pepperrell), on condition that at twenty-one years of age he should drop the name Sparhawk and be known as Sir William Pepperrell.

His grandfather's wishes were respected, and eight years after his grandfather's decease (1767), he assumed the title.¹ He has been known as Sir William 2d, and also in the family as "Young Sir William." He graduated from Harvard College in 1766, and was later a Councillor, and Mandamus Councillor. A royalist, he fled to England with his wife and children, also his wife's parents and kindred in 1775. His wife died on the voyage and was buried at Halifax, N. S., October 8th. Her four children were born in Kittery, Maine. Of her character, we can judge somewhat, by a letter written by her brother-in-law, Samuel Hirst Sparhawk to his father, of which we will transcribe a part further on.

"Young Sir William" received a great deal of attention in England, and was painted by West in a large group, which represented him as he was when he presented his brother tories of America to the King, craving the King's most gracious favor.² He led a remarkably useful life, was distinguished by a love of patriotism and charity toward all men. He died in 1816, one year after his brother Nathaniel, who had sojourned awhile in England after "young Sir William," became a permanent resident there. The most complete account of his life, which we cannot transcribe in

¹Parsons' "Life of Sir William Pepperrell."

²Sabine's "American Loyalists," vol. 2, p. 169.

our limited space, is to be found in Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution" to which we have already referred our readers.

129 Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk, the fifth son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, married Miss Turner, the daughter of an army officer in Boston, Sept. 5, 1775. He went to England with his brother William, and died there, without children, in 1783. His portrait, painted by Copley, is in existence in England. It is owned by a lineal descendant of his niece, Lady Palmer, Sir Archdale Palmer of Wanlip Hall, Leicestershire, England.

130 Samuel Hirst Sparhawk, the sixth and youngest son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, went to England sometime later than his brothers William and Andrew and was married there. His portrait by Copley is in the possession of Sir Archdale Palmer.

His daughter was :

326 Harriet Hirst, b. 1781; d., unmarried, at Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 29, 1872.

Before leaving for England, which step was the result of his being an ardent Loyalist, he wrote to his father the following letter, the original of which is now in the possession of the writer.

Hon°. and dear Sir :

I have not til now had an opportunity of writing you for some time past, owing to the communication betwixt us and the country being cut off; and am now obliged to confine myself to a few particulars as letters undergo an inspection of committees, etc., etc.

Since my last you have undoubtedly been made ac-

quainted with the melancholy event of Lady Pepperrell's death, which has been a most trying, piercing trouble to us all, but especially to my poor broken hearted brother Sir William who is day and night weeping for his dear departed Object; and can any one who knew her wonder? Surely no: for she deserved the esteem of every one: her sweetness of disposition and obliging behaviour added to every amiable quality won the regard and attention of all around her, and I must say as far as I have ever been able to discover if there have been any exceptions to this, it must have been owing to themselves and not to her; she often did kindnesses, but she injured no one: she was too harmless and innocent, and I cou'd not love anybody who I tho't didn't love her, but upon the principle enjoined by a perfect character, to "love our enemies." She was a worthy charming woman indeed! who can think of her and not be distressed. I'm sure I mourn my loss most sincerely and its universal among all who were acquainted with her character. I trust she is now made happy in heaven thro' the great atonement for sin by Jesus Christ.

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With duty and Love I am y^r affectio^{te} Son

S. Hirst Sparhawk.

P. S. remember my duty and love to my dear Mama and Lady P. I want to see them exceedingly, but this cant be very soon, tho' it may be in a twelve month

To

The Hon^{ble}. Nath^l Sparhawk, Esq., in Kittery.

132 Hannah Frost, the daughter of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Samuel Bowman of Cambridge, Mar. 20, 1745-6.

327 Samuel, jr., bapt. April 26, 1747.

328 Edmund, bapt. Feb. 12, 1748-9.

329 Hannah, bapt. Feb. 17, 1750-1.

Samuel Bowman, sr., died in June, 1783. Mrs. Hannah (Frost) Bowman probably died April 25, 1794.

134 Edmund Frost, jr., son of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Sarah Rand, Aug. 9, 1750.

330 Sarah, b. May 24, 1751.

331 Edmund, b. July 24, 1753.

332 Stephen, b. Sept. 13, 1755.

333 Jonathan, b. Dec. 12, 1757; d. Aug. 7, 1800.

334 Hannah, b. May 13, 1760; m. Joseph Wilson, Apr. 13, 1780.

335 Nehemiah, b. Oct. 6, 1762.

336 Abigail, b. Nov. 23, 1763.

337 Phœbe, b. June 4, 1766; d. unmarried.

338 Samuel, b. Mar. 16, 1770; m. Dorcas Hill (?), Oct. 15, 1789.

Edmund Frost, sr., resided on a part of the homestead and probably died about 1777. Mrs. Sarah (Rand) Frost died Oct. 28, 1801, aged 71 years.

137 Gideon Frost, son of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Sarah Ireland, Jan. 18, 1753.

339 Sarah, b. Mar. 1, 1754; d., unmarried, July 29, 1821.

340 Gideon, jr., b. Oct. 14, 1755; physician in Uxbridge, Mass.

341 John, b. Mar. 4, 1758; d. young.

342 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 15, 1760; m. Thomas Frothingham, Sept. 24, 1785.

343 Walter, b. Aug. 29, 1766; m. Martha Tufts, June 21, 1792; d. April 20, 1819.

344 Martha, b. June 29, 1769; m. Thomas Austin, Mar. 22, 1807; d. April 17, 1838.

345 William, b. April 23, 1774; m., 1st, Lucy Adams; 2nd, Mary Teele.

Gideon Frost, sr., was a deacon of the church for twenty years. He resided in the homestead on Kirkland street first and afterwards (1763) on the easterly side of North avenue, nearly opposite Linnæan street. He died June 30, 1803. Mrs. Sarah (Ireland) Frost died in July, 1805, aged 76.

142 Hannah Gove, daughter of Jonathan and Lydia (Cooper) Gove, married Thomas Goddard, Jan. 3, 1738-9.

346 Kezia, bapt. Nov. 25, 1739; probably d. in infancy.

347 Hannah, bapt. April 11, 1742; m. Jonas Prentice, Dec. 1, 1785.

348 Benjamin, bapt. Aug. 12, 1744; d., unmarried, July, 1828.

349 Thomas, } twins; b. July 12, 1747; { m. H. Prentice, Dec. 11,
350 Nathaniel, } 1777; d. March, 1830.
m. — —, s. p.; d.
Jan., 1830.

Thomas Goddard, sr., died in 1768. Mrs. Hannah (Gove) Goddard died March 18, 1799.

146 Ephraim Frost, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Mary Cutter, daughter of Deacon John and Lydia (Harrington) Cutter, published Mar. 16, 1739.

351 Anna, b. Oct. 22, 1740; d. Nov. 20, 1740.

352 Ephraim, b. Sept. 29, 1742; m. Lydia Perry, June 6, 1765; d. Apr. 4, 1833.

353 Jonathan, b. Dec. 15, 1744; Harvard College, 1767; d. April 25, 1771.

354 Stephen, b. June 18, 1747; m. Susanna Brown, Dec. 22, 1772; d. Oct. 31, 1810.

355 Ruhamah, b. Nov. 4, 1749; m. Jno. Russell, Aug. 31, 1769.

356 Mary, b. Mar. 4, 1752; m. Jon. Locke, Jan. 3, 1775; d. Jan. 6, 1805.

357 Anna, b. Oct. 3, 1754.

358 Lydia, b. Oct. 21, 1756; d. Oct. 23, 1766.

359 John, b. Sept. 9, 1760; m. Susanna Hill, Nov. 21, 1780; d. 1812.

360 Amos, b. Aug. 17, 1763; m. Lydia Bemis; d. Feb. 25, 1850.

Edhram Frost, sr., died Mar. 5, 1799, æ. 84. Mrs. Mary (Cutter) Frost died Oct. 20, 1805, aged 89.

147 Samuel Frost, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Abigail, daughter of Deacon John and Lydia (Harrington) Cutter, Feb. 19, 1741.

361 Samuel, b. Dec. 7, 1741; d. young.

62 Samuel, b. Aug. 2, 1743; d. April 24, 1790.

- 363 Abigail, b. Jan. 24, 1744-45; d. unmarried.
 364 Rebecca, b. Dec. 28, 1746; m. Sol. Prentice, April 13, 1775; d. Nov. 12, 1798.
 365 John, b. June 29, 1748; d. Aug. 9, 1749.
 366 Martha, b. May 12, 1750; m. Isaac Tufts, Apr. 16, 1769.
 367 Sarah, b. June 10, 1752; m. Jno. Hutchinson, May 28, 1772; d. Oct. 19, 1790.
 368 John, b. June 23, 1754; m. Lydia ———; d. Oct., 1818.
 369 Hannah, b. ———, 1758; m. Joseph Wilson, April 13, 1780.
 370 Seth, b. Mar. 20, 1760; m. Sarah Hill, Nov. 20, 1781; d. Jan. 23, 1814.
 371 William, b. ———, 1762; d. Sept. 28, 1791.
 372 Cooper, b. Mar. 20, 1764; m. ——— ———; d. Sept. 30, 1813.
 373 Lydia Harrington, b. Nov. 16, 1766; m. Simeon Crosby, May 7, 1787; d. Aug. 3, 1813.

Samuel Frost, sr., died Sept. 30, 1798; Abigail (Cutter) Frost, died Mar. 7, 1796.

150 Martha Frost, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Joseph Adams, jr., Jan. 10, 1739-40.

- 374 Anna, b. Dec. 14, 1740; m. T. Tufts, May 7, 1761; d. Oct. 8, 1825.
 375 Joseph, b. Nov. 29, 1743; m. Lucy Kent, Sept. 6, 1770.
 376 Martha, b. Sept. 25, 1746; m. Samuel Locke, jr., May 16, 1771.

Mrs. Martha (Frost) Adams died Dec. 23, 1749. Her husband, Joseph Adams, jr., married, second, Hannah Hall, Sept. 11, 1750, by whom he had eleven children.

Joseph Adams was selectman four years and died May 3, 1794, aged 79.

164 Jonathan Cooper, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Prentice) Cooper, married Mercy Prentice, 1755-6, daughter of Jonas and Mercy (Pierce) Prentice.

- 377 Mercy, bapt. April 18, 1756.
 378 Jonathan, bapt. Oct. 1, 1758; d. Sept. 17, 1760.
 379 Anna, bapt. Feb. 6, 1763.
 380 Marah, bapt. May 12, 1765; m. Joshua Palmer, May 23, 1791.

Jonathan Cooper died April 26, 1765.

176 Benjamin Francis, son of Nathaniel and Ann (——) Francis, married Lydia Convers, April 7, 1757.

381 Benjamin, b. Sept. 6, 1759; d. in Baltimore.

382 James.

383 William, lived in Newburyport.

384 Convers, b. July 14, 1766; m. Susanna Rand, May 11, 1788.

Mrs. Lydia (Convers) Francis died in January, 1768.

Benjamin Francis married, second, Sarah Hall, Oct. 20, 1768.

385 Sarah, m. Ephraim Bound of Middletown, Conn.

386 Simon.

387 Nathaniel, drowned in British Channel.

388 Lydia, m. Job Wyeth, Jan. 31, 1804.

389 Ebenezer.

390 Stephen.

Mrs. Sarah (Hall) Francis, died June 5, 1798.

185 John Dana, son of Benjamin and Anna (Francis) Dana, married Abigail Smith, 1748.

391 Abigail, b. May 8, 1749.

392 Lydia, b. Sept. 7, 1750.

393 Benjamin, b. Feb. 24, 1751-2.

394 Elizabeth, b. ———, 1754.

395 John, b. May 26, 1756.

192 Stephen Dana, son of Benjamin and Anna (Francis) Dana, married Eleanor Brown, Sept. 16, 1762.

They left no children, but Mr. Dana was much engaged in public life. He was colonel of the militia, justice of the peace, selectman seventeen years (1776-1794), representative from Cambridge fourteen years (1778-1792) and representative from Brighton in 1806 and 1808. His epitaph describes him as "a prudent, pleasant friend, the father, legislator, judge and peacemaker of Brighton, extensively useful and greatly beloved by all who knew him."

196 Susanna Francis, daughter of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, married Samuel Cutter, April 28, 1757.

- 396 Samuel, b. ———, 1758; m. Rebecca Hill, Sept. 29, 1780.
- 397 William, b. ———, 1759; m. Hannah Cutter, April 29, 1783.
- 398 Susanna, b. ———, 1761; m. Thomas Whittemore, Nov. 16, 1783.
- 399 Francis, b. April 17, 1763; m. Susanna Whittemore, Dec. 29, 1782.
- 400 Ezekiel, b. Dec. 24, 1764.
- 401 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 31, 1766; m. Abigail B. Bowman, Dec. 6, 1789.
- 402 Abigail, b. Jan. 19, 1769; m. Samuel Cutter, Jan. 21, 1787.
- 403 Anne, b. June 25, 1771; m. Wm. Whittemore, Feb. 2, 1796.
- 404 Adam, b. April 13, 1773.
- 405 Edward, b. June 9, 1775; d. Aug. 2, 1778.
- 406 Washington, b. June 18, 1777; m. Elizabeth Robins, Mar. 16, 1800.

Samuel Cutter died April 7, 1791. Mrs. Susanna (Francis) Cutter died Dec. 19, 1817.

198 Lucy Francis married Edward Wilson, Nov. 23, 1758.

- 407 Joseph, b. Oct. 9, 1759; m. Elizabeth Caldwell, Mar. 6, 1785.
- 408 Lucy, b. Jan. 21, 1761.
- 409 Edward, b. ———, 1762.
- 410 Ebenezer, b. ———, 1763.
- 411 Rachel, b. ———, 1765.
- 412 Samuel, b. ———, 1766.
- 413 Nathaniel, b. ———, 1768.
- 414 William, b. ———, 1769.
- 415 Aaron, b. ———, 1771.
- 416 Francis, b. ———, 1774.
- 417 Andrew, b. ———, 1777.
- 418 Thomas, b. ———, 1778.

200 Ebenezer Francis, son of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, married Judith Wood, 1766. They had four daughters and one son.

- 419 Ebenezer, treasurer of Harvard College, d. Sept. 20, 1858.

Ebenezer Francis, sr., was a colonel in the Revolutionary army and distinguished for his bravery and good conduct. He was slain in battle at Hubbardton, Vt., July 7, 1777.

203 Aaron Francis married ———.

420 Ebenezer, b. Oct. 18, 1790.

Aaron Francis lived in Beverly, where he died in 1825. He was the grandfather of Rev. Eben Francis.

205 Charles Russell, M.D., married Elizabeth, only child of Col. Henry and Penelope (Royal) Vassall, Feb. 15, 1768.

421 Penelope, b. Mar., 1769; m. Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, 1808, s. p.; d. May 18, 1827.

422 Elizabeth Vassall, b. Jan. 21, 1770; d. young.

423 Elizabeth, b. Jan. 10, 1771; m. Charles F. Degen, June 12, 1797.

424 Catherine Graves, b. Jan. 9, 1772; d., unmarried, Sept. 5, 1847.

425 Rebecca, b. Feb. 20, 1773; m., 1st, David Pearce, 1793; m., 2nd, Joseph Ruggles, 1813.

Charles Russell, M.D., was a graduate of Harvard College in 1757 and died at Antigua, May 27, 1780.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Vassall) Russell died Feb. 23, 1802, in the sixtieth year of her age.

206 Thomas Russell married Elizabeth Henley, daughter of Samuel Henley of Charlestown, Mass., May 2, 1765.

426 Thomas Graves, b. Jan. 27, 1767; d. April 15, 1790.

427 John Miller, b. ———, 1768; d. Sept. 16, 1840.

428 Daniel, b. ———, 1769; d. 1804.

429 James, b. ———, 1770; d. young.

430 Elizabeth, b. 1772; m. Jno. Langdon Sullivan, Oct. 12, 1797.

Mrs. E. H. Russell died in May, 1781.

Thomas Russell married, second, Sarah Sever, daughter of William Sever, Aug. 12, 1784.

431 Sarah, b. Dec. 1, 1786; m. Richard Sullivan, May, 1804; d. 1831.

Mrs. Sarah S. Russell died in November, 1787.

Thomas Russell married, third, Elizabeth Watson, Nov. 12, 1788.

207 Katherine Russell married Samuel Henley Oct. 4, 1762.

432 Katherine, b. Dec. 17, 1763; d. Aug., 1807.

433 James, b. Aug. 24, 1766.

434 Sybil, b. ———, 1768.

435 Charles, b. ———, 1769; d. young.

436 Richard, b. Jan. 5, 1772.

437 Rebecca Tyng, b. ———, 1773; d. young.

438 Rebecca Tyng, b. July 10, 1774; m. Jno. Soley, Nov., 1804.

439 Charles, b. Aug. 28, 1777.

210 Rebecca Russell married John Lowell, January, 1778.

440 Rebecca Russell, b. May 17, 1779; m. S. P. Gardiner, Sept. 17, 1797; d. May 11, 1853.

441 Charles, b. Aug. 15, 1782; m. Harriet B. Spence, Oct. 2, 1806; d. Jan. 10, 1861.

442 Elizabeth Cutts, b. Dec., 1783; m. Warren Dutton, June 3, 1806.

443 Mary, b. ———; d. young.

Judge John Lowell married Rebecca Russell (who was his third wife) after his removal to Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Percival Lowell, who came to America in 1639.¹ His father was the Rev. John Lowell, who married, first, Sarah Champney (Judge Lowell's mother) and second, Mrs. Elizabeth (Cutts) Whipple, the widow of Rev. Jos. Whipple, and daughter of Robert and Dorcas (Hammond) Cutts of Kittery, Maine. Judge Lowell was born in Newbury, June 17, 1743, and took his first degree in Harvard College in 1760. He was admitted to practice

¹ "Memoir of Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D.," by Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam.

law in 1763. He held many distinguished positions and was honored alike by young and old. A very valuable account of his life, and of that of his son Charles, has been written by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary (Lowell) Putnam. To this we have already referred, and we will not attempt to do more than advise our readers to read that at their earliest leisure. Judge Lowell died May 6, 1802.

211 James Russell married Mary Lechmere at St. Peter's Church, Bristol, England, Sept. 22, 1780.

444a Lechmere Coore Graves, b. Dec. 25, 1786; m. Harriet E. Woodhouse; d. Apr. 28, 1851.

445b Charles James, b. ———; of the Royal Navy; d. unmarried.

446c Mary Ann, b. ———; died unmarried.

447d Elizabeth Penelope, b. ———; died unmarried.

448e Lechmere, b. ———; died in infancy.

449f Katherine Sarah, b. ———; m. Major Wm. Miller.

450g Lucy Margaret, b. ———; m. Rev. Robert Casse Wolfe; d. 1870.

Mrs. Mary (Lechmere) Russell was a daughter of Richard Lechmere, and granddaughter of Thomas and Anne (Winthrop) Lechmere. Her grandmother was a daughter of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. Her husband left New England for England at the time of the Revolution and established himself at Bristol, England, where he died in 1832.

215 Margaret Russell married John Codman, July 15, 1781.

451 John (Rev. D.D.), b. Aug. 3, 1782; m. Mary Wheelwright, Jan. 19, 1813.

452 Chas. Russell, b. Dec. 19, 1784; m. 1st, Anne McMaster; 2nd, Sarah Ogden.

Mrs. M. R. Codman died March 12, 1789. Her husband, John Codman, died May 17, 1803.

216 Samuel Cary married Sarah Gray, daughter of Reverend Ellis Gray, Nov. 5, 1772.

- 453 Samuel, b. at Chelsea, Mass., Oct. 17, 1773; d. unmarried at sea.
- 454 Margaret, b. at Grenada, W. I.; d. at Chelsea; unmarried.
- 455 Charles Spooner, b. in Grenada; d. at Chelsea; unmarried.
- 456 Lucius, b. at Grenada, W. I.; d. in England; unmarried.
- 457 Sarah, b. at Grenada; m. Rev. Joseph Tuckerman.
- 458 Henry, b. at Grenada, 1785; m., 1st, Margaret Pine; m., 2nd, Elizabeth Lowis; d. at Florence, Italy, 1857.
- 459 Ann Montagu, b. in Grenada, 1787; d. in Chelsea, Mass., 1882; unmarried.
- 460 Edward, b. in Grenada, 1789; d. in England, 1808.
- 461 Harriet, b. Grenada, 1790; d. Chelsea, 1873; unmarried.
- 462 Thos. Graves, b. Chelsea, 1791; m. Mary Cushing Perkins; d. 1859.
- 463 Geo. Blankern, b. Chelsea, 1792; m. Helen Paine; d. 1880.
- 464 Robert Howard, b. Chelsea, 1794; m. ———; d. Chelsea, 1867.
- 465 Wm. Ferdinand, b. Chelsea, 1795; m. Nancy Perkins; d. 1881.

Samuel Cary, senior, was a planter in Grenada, West Indies. He died at Chelsea, August 1, 1812. Mrs. Sarah Gray Cary died at Chelsea, in 1825, aged 72 years. Her mother was Sarah Tyler, daughter of John Tyler and granddaughter of Thomas and Miriam (Simpkins) Tyler, the ancestors of the Boston family of that name.¹ Her father, Rev. Ellis Gray, was son of Edward and Hannah (Ellis) Gray, and colleague pastor of the Second Church in Boston. He was very nearly related to Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, and many other distinguished Bostonians.

217 Reverend Thomas Cary, the brother of Samuel Cary, was graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He married May 25, 1775, Esther Carter of Newburyport, Mass., a daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail (Beck) Carter. She died May 28, 1779, and he died Nov. 24, 1808.

Reverend Thomas Cary was married twice and had one son, by his first marriage, who died unmarried in early manhood. His name was Thomas Graves Cary. The name of his second wife we have thus far failed to find. His wife

¹ See "Memorials of the Dead in Boston. King's Chapel Burial Ground," pp. 289-91.

Esther was a sister of Mrs. Edward Cutts, of Portsmouth, N. H., and there are, through that source, in the possession of the writer, a number of his printed sermons and a quaint portrait of Rev. Thos. Cary, executed, evidently, by an amateur. Also a mourning ring in memory of Mrs. Esther Cary, died in 1779.

221 Margaret Wigglesworth married Rev. John Andrews, Sept. 8, 1788.

466 Edward Wigglesworth, b. Aug., 1790; H.C. 1809 (Rev.); d. unm., Nov., 1825.

467 Margaret, b. ———; d. unm.

468 John, b. ———; d. unm.

469 Hannah Richmond, b. ———; d. unm.

470 Mary Jane, b. ———; d. unm.

Rev. John Andrews died at Newburyport in 1845.

225 Thomas Wigglesworth married Jane Norton, April 28, 1803.

471 Edward, b. 1804; H.C. 1822, LL.B. 1825; m. Miss Goddard.

472 Jane, b. July 4, 1805.

473 Mary, b. July 28, 1807.

474 Anne, b. Feb. 10, 1810.

475 Samuel, b. Dec. 16, 1811; H.C. 1831, M.D.; d. 1847.

476 Thos., jr., b. July 1, 1814; H.C. 1833.

229 Richard Gardner married Hannah Goldthwaite.

477 John, b.

478 Joanna, b.

479 Martha, b.

480 Hannah, b. ———; m. Dr. Jas. P. Chaplin, Dec. 10, 1807.

481 Susan, b.

482 Sarah, b.

231 Thomas Gardner married Hannah Gardner.

483 Hannah, b. Feb. 12, 1791; m. Aaron Rice, Oct. 21, 1810; d. July 7, 1853.

484 Thomas.

485 Susannah.

486 Mary Sparhawk.

487 Harriet E.

488 Thomas Sparhawk.

MINING AND QUARRYING, AND SMELTING OF ORES, IN BOXFORD.

BY SIDNEY PERLEY.

IRON-WORKS OF 1668-1680.

THERE is a deep cut through the hills near the house of Mr. Andrew Frame in Boxford, probably made that water might flow from Crooked pond into Fish brook at the Frame's mill. The sides of the cut are quite high in some places, and the banks have been covered with a growth of hemlock trees for a hundred years. Through this cut a stream of water still flows down. In that part of the ravine where the sides rise the highest are supposed remains of a giant dam. Parallel with this cut is another small one, and between the two are sites of buildings, apparently. No one knows anything about its history; and its mystery renders the remains more interesting.

Some have thought that this place might have been the site of the old iron-works, but that is not correct. The site of the iron-works was a few rods northwest of the Frame's Mill. To-day, there remains of this interesting place of business a large part of the original dam, sites of the buildings associated with the works and of the dwelling-house, and a spring in which a barrel was found a few years since, but in such a decayed condition that the once hard white oak staves upon coming to the air fell to pieces by their own weight.

Henry and James Leonard, the first American founders, came from England about 1640, and began the smelting

of iron in Plymouth County. They were brothers, and together were engaged in making the first iron castings ever made in the United States. Henry Leonard came from Lynn, where he had been for several years engaged in iron smelting, and established the business in Boxford in 1668 or 1669. In 1670, his foundry was called "the works newly erected in Rowley Village."

When the iron-works were established here their site belonged to John Gould, sen., of Topsfield, but the dwelling house that used to stand at the works, and in which probably the workmen lived, was undoubtedly built by the company owning the works. Daniel Black, a Scotchman, who was fined five pounds, in 1660, "for making love to Edmund Bridges' daughter" (Faith, whom he afterwards married) without her parents' consent, was one of these workmen.

Dec. 25, 1670, Mr. Gould quitclaimed to "Simond Bradstreete of Andover, gent, John Ruck of Salem, merchant, Thomas Baker of Topsfield, yeoman, and the rest of the part owners of the Iron works in Rowley Village, of whom the grantor is one, . . . all that my p^{ce}l of upland & arable ground . . . in Rowley village, containing . . . eighty acres, . . . on pt whereof the said iron workes now standeth, bounded by a walnutt tree growing by the brook, commonly caled the fishing brook, soe up to a bastion tree bounded with y^e land of Samuel Simonds on the south east, & from y^e bastion tree upon a straite line to a poplar tree, standing west or to the northward of the west, bounded with the land of y^e sd John Gould, & from the poplar tree upon a straite line to a poplar stake & heape of stones by it, east or to the norward of the east bounded with y^e land of y^e sd John Gould & John Newmarsh, & soe downe as the pond goeth to the walnut tree againe." The consideration for this land was £22, 10s.

Mr. Leonard, however, was not the actual mover of the enterprise, he being the lessee of the works, and owning one-sixteenth only of them. The works were owned by a company, whose capital stock amounted to about one thousand pounds. Many deeds of shares in the iron works are found recorded in the registry of deeds, and the following are some of them. John Wildes of Topsfield to Thomas Baker of Topsfield one-thirty-second, March 15, 1670; John Gould of Topsfield to Major-general Daniel Denison of Ipswich, one-sixteenth, May 1, 1671; Thomas Pearly of Rowley to Mr. John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Dec. 7, 1671; John Gould of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Oct. 22, 1672; Henry Leonard of Rowley Village to Mr. Simon Bradstreet of Andover, mortgage, one-sixteenth, June 16, 1673; Joseph Bixby, sen., of Rowley Village to Mr. Jonathan Wade of Ipswich, one-sixteenth, Oct. 29, 1673; Thomas Baker of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-thirty-second, Nov. 24, 1674; John Gould of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-eighth, Nov. 25, 1674; Thomas Baker of Topsfield, "or neer unto Topsfield," to John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Sept. 4, 1676; John Safford of Ipswich to Ens. John Gould of Topsfield, one-sixteenth, Dec. 26, 1679; Daniel Denison, Esq., of Ipswich to John Ruck, sen., of Salem, one-sixteenth, Feb. 17, 1681. Mr. Ruck finally became the owner of about a one-half interest in the works. Thomas Baker was clerk of the company in 1673.

Masses of slag may still be found here. The bog-ore used was dug from meadows in Danvers, Ipswich, Boxford, Middleton, Topsfield and Saugus. Four shillings and six pence was the price paid per ox-cart load.

Mr. Leonard was not making his business a success. In September, 1673, he was sued by Daniel Black, one

of his workmen, and judgment for about five pounds was recovered. Mr. Leonard could not meet the pecuniary demands made upon him, and he disappeared leaving the bloomary to take care of itself the following winter. March 31, 1674, the proprietors met, and voted to recover possession of the premises by making an entry on them. The entry was made April 6, following, in the presence of Edmond Bridges, John Bridges and Daniel Black. The following is a copy of the certificate of this vote and entry:—

"Att a meeting of the owners of the Iron works in Rowley Village 31th 1th '74.

"Upon considderation that Henry Leonard the leasee, is behind of payeing a great pt of the last years rent, and little or no stock provided, and that the sayd Leonard hath left the sd works, and is fled for debt and hath left them in great danger to be burnt & lost there being no care taken to prevent danger of fire, by reason of the defects of the chimneyes &c. and of the dam by breaches &c. It is therfore agreed and concluded, That forthwith there be a reentry made of the houses and works, with all the appertenances there unto belonging, and to take y^m into possession of the sayd owners. And m^r Bradstreet maior Gn^{rl} Denison m^r Rucke, En^s John Gould, and corp^l Putnam or any two of them are desired, and heerby empowered to make a reentry thereof in the name, & for the use of the rest of the owners and to proceed according to law with any that may oppose the same which wee will approve and justifie as wittnes our hands this 31 : 1 : '74.

"Also it is referd to

the above sd part owners

or any 2 or 3 of them

to let out the sd works, or

to take care for the improveing

of them by procureing coale

"Simon Bradstreete

Daniell Denison

John Rucke

John Gould

Nathaniell Putnam

John Putnam

& myne & hireing workmen	John Safford
to make Iron by the tun	John Wilde
and to do what elce they	Thomas Andrews

judg nessesary, for the good
& advantage of the sd owners,
and what is nescesary to be
disbursed about the same
every owner is to pay & beare
& beare his pportionable pt of
charges & disbursments

"Memorandum that this 6 of Aprill 1674 the owners of the above sd Iron works had lawfull & quiett possession resigned & delivered to them of the house works & all appertanances therunto belonging, and did acordingly make there reentry, and tooke what then was in being or to be found into there possession, as in formar times & had the lease formerly made to Henry Leonard delivered up by his wife to the sd owners in the presence of

"Edmond Bridges

John Bridges Daniell Black
& a marke

"Vera Copia as attest

"Robert Lord, Cler"

Mr. Leonard, it appears, went to Taunton, and afterward to New Jersey, where he established the same kind of business. On the day of the above entry, Apr. 6, 1674, the proprietors contracted with Samuel, Nathaniel and Thomas, Mr. Leonard's three sons, to carry on the iron-works. This they did for a short time and then followed their father to New Jersey. The Leonards were among the leading iron-manufacturers of England as well as of America. The family is quite ancient and is thought to have descended from the twelfth Lord Dacre. Many descendants of Henry Leonard now live in New Jersey.

The next manager of the iron-works was undoubtedly

John Vinton. The terrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew, urged on by Charles I, who, in his hatred to the Protestants, stood at a front window of his palace, crying to the massacring Catholics, "Kill them! kill them!" and saw the blood of the innocents running down the streets of Paris, caused the Vinton family to leave their fair fatherland and seek an asylum on the eastern shores of England. Huguenots indeed they were, and a grandson, John Vinton, came to Boxford. The Vinton and other family historians have sought in vain the whereabouts of this John, but seem never to have discovered his home in Rowley Village. John Ramsdell was a relative of John Vinton, and he, too, was a citizen of the Village and connected with the iron business. Thomas Leonard was supposed to have burned the coal house at the iron works, and was complained of in 1675. He was sentenced to be whipped if found within seven miles of the works. But he had already gone to New Jersey.

Rev. William Hubbard, the historian of New England, writing in or about 1680, mentions the business here. He says: "As the country had hitherto begun to flourish in most English manufactures, so liberty was this year (1645) granted to make iron; for which purpose a work was set up at Lynn, upon a very commodious stream, which was very much promoted, and strenuously carried on for some considerable time; but at length, instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there was nothing but contentions and law suits, which was but a bad return for the undertaking. However, it gave occasion to others to acquaint themselves with that skill, to the great advantage of the colonies, who have since that time found out many convenient places where very good iron, not much inferior to that of Bilboa, may be produced; as at this day is seen in a village near Topsfield."

Mr. Hubbard referred to Rowley Village in this manner,

because it was difficult to determine precisely under whose jurisdiction the people were. They then belonged territorially to Rowley, but they trained in the militia company at Topsfield, attended, and belonged to, the church at Topsfield and were chosen into office there.

The business was prosecuted but a short time after 1680. The history of its termination is not known. The washing away of a large portion of the dam in a great freshet, which occurred at about that time, may have been the cause. Old deeds of this, and adjoining land, mention the old Fishing Brook and the new Fishing Brook. Both are still running side by side, only a short distance apart. The old one is that on which the iron-works were situated. The original dam ran across the brook to the high land on the opposite shore and when the freshet washed away the eastern end of the dam, the water flowed down, and formed a new channel, on which the saw mill now stands. And in that way the new Fish or Fishing Brook came into existence.

The town of Boxford was incorporated in 1685, about five years after the iron business was discontinued. But the works continued to be a landmark and for several years they are mentioned in the town records. In 1686 :—

“ The town voted to lay out a high way from Andover bounds to Topsfield along by Joseph Bixbes hows, and also a nother waye from Zacheus Cortices hous to this a bove said high waye or road way a long by the Works threw Abel Langlyes farm, also from the Workes a long by the South sied of the plain and so to John Stielses and so in to this a bove said waye,” etc.—*Boxford Town Records, Vol. I, p. 2.*

The roads thus voted to be laid out were, first, that leading by the Deacon Palmer place, past Hotel Redington, to Topsfield; the second, that leading from Mr. John

C. McLaughlin's house to Mr. Andrew Frame's house, from which, passing between his house and new barn, it crossed Fish brook near the schoolhouse and came into the present road at Mr. George W. Twitchell's house, from thence it led into the first road, thus going to Topsfield; and the third, commencing near the iron-works (at the second road, probably) passed by Mr. John Sawyer's house and came into the first road at Mr. Samuel Frye's house. It cannot be known with any degree of accuracy where these roads were meant to be, as nothing more was done probably than the spotting of trees. These roads were laid out by the committee, Nov. 23, 1686. The following is their report:—

"23 of novembr, '86. the Commety a bove Chosen to lay out high waies in order to thair work layed out a hy waye from mapel medow by John pebodyes hous and so a long to Topsfeld Comman land in Bear hill plaien doing as letal damag as may bee and it doth lye a long in the ould path to John Andruses Slow and so as near the hilly ground on the left hand as Can Conveniently bee layed to the nex Slow and then Stil by the hilles to Thomas andruses bearn and so to Crean broock along the ould path waye to Topsfeld land this way is to bee the open hy waye as is aboue mensioned.

"The Commety aboue said layed out a way from goodman boswels therew goodman Radingtons pastuer to John Stiles barn and so a long to the workes on the South Sied of the plaien and so along to zecheus Cortises bearn al so the Commety did also a gree to lay out a way therew Abel Langlyes farm by the works to the maien Road way as a bove; as letal to the damig of the farm as may bee yelding to thair Convenency as much as possible."—*Boxford Town Records, Vol. I, p. 2.*

The land on which the iron-works were situated be-

longed to Zaccheus Gould, the immigrant, and quite early became the property of his son John. John was the notorious Captain Gould, the patriot (or rebel as you may be pleased to call him) of 1688. It must be remembered that the Revolution of a hundred years ago is not the only one that we have had. There was another though bloodless one in 1688 and 1689. King James II was an arbitrary, tyrannical and cruel sovereign. In 1686 he took away the charters of the American colonies and instead of permitting his subjects here to exercise their rights of free-men and elect their governors, they were appointed by him. Over the Massachusetts, and other of the New England colonies, he appointed Sir Edmund Andros, who, says Smith, the historian of New York, knew no law but the will of his master, and Kirk and Jeffries were not fitter instruments than he to execute the despotic projects of James II.

Captain Gould then commanded the Topsfield militia company, in which the Boxford men trained, and he opposed, in language at least, the government of Andros to a very offensive degree. When it became known to the Governor, Captain Gould was arrested and imprisoned in the Boston jail. The treasonable words which he was arraigned for uttering are named in the indictment, in two counts as follows, viz. :—

“If the country were of his mind, they would keep Salem Court with the former magistrates, and if the country would go the rounds, he would make the first, and would go and keep Salem Court, and would have his company down to do it.

“That he was under another government and had sworn to another government, and did not know this government.”

But tradition says that Captain Gould's speech was as follows, viz. :—

"If you were all of my mind, you would go and mob the governor out of Boston."

While Gould was lying in jail the king completed his reign by abdicating the throne and fleeing to France, where he lived in obscurity in the little town of St. Germain. As soon as the news reached America, Governor Andros and fifty of his assistants were seized and incarcerated in the same jail in which Gould lay confined. Gould was liberated, and Andros with his assistants was sent to the mother country and advised to stay there. This last step in the Revolution was taken in April, 1689. The old government, with Bradstreet at the head, was resumed; and the town of Boxford in giving instructions to its representative who was sent to the first session of the General Court after the Revolution commenced as follows, viz. :—

"We, the freeholders and inhabitants of Boxford, being very sensible of, and thankful to God for, his great mercies to us in delivering us from the tyranny and oppression of these ill men under whose injustice and cruelty we have so long groaned," etc.

The property, including the land, buildings and apparatus, of the iron company finally came wholly into the possession and ownership of the brave old patriot Captain Gould, who sold the house and land to his son Samuel in 1695. Captain Gould never lived here, probably; but Samuel made it his residence. In 1714, the house was destroyed by fire. Mr. Gould erected a new one and continued to reside here. He died in 1724, and his son, Samuel, jun., settled on the homestead, living here until 1746, when he sold to Samuel Fisk of Boxford, and removed to Brookfield. Mr. Fisk lived here but two years, and in 1748 sold to Ebenezer Curtis of Boxford. Mr. Curtis lived here until 1790 when he sold out to Stephen Perley of Topsfield. The next year, Cornelius Gould bought the

place, on which he resided until 1797, when he sold to Jacob Andrews and removed to Danvers. The house was standing in 1797, and Mr. Andrews took it down before 1805.

MINE-PIT PASTURE.

About one-fourth of a mile below the Boxford depot by the west side of the railroad track, near a ledge now in the pasture belonging to Mr. Eben N. Price of Salem, iron shale has been found. Iron, as some think, and have some reason to believe, was smelted here. In an old deed, bearing the date of 1770, this tract of land is called the "Mine-pit pasture." It would seem from this name that ore was taken out here; and Mr. Edward Howe's grandfather Howe had an iron bar, the material of which came from this pasture.

KIMBALL'S FORGE.

If you will look at the map of the State, which was made in 1795, you will see that at the site of the match factory was "Kimball's Forge or Iron Works." These works were established by Joshua Rea about 1770. Mr. Rea lived across the road from Mr. William Atherton's, and had come from Beverly, five years before. Mr. Rea sold out the iron-works about 1780 to Samuel Bodwell of Methuen and Thomas Newman, then a resident of Boxford, but who was probably from Ipswich. Mr. Bodwell and Mr. Newman, for £27. 10s., sold to David and Samuel Kimball, uncle and father respectively of the late Captain Samuel Kimball, June 28, 1782, land in Boxford "with one half of the privilege of the stream of the Fishing Brook, so called, and the dam built thereon, butted and bounded as follows: beginning at a white ash by the Fishing Brook aforesaid, thence north eight poles to the town

road, then turning west eleven poles to a stake and stones, thence turning south fourteen poles to the middle of the Fishing Brook to some little stones on a great stone, thence easterly down said brook to the first mentioned bound."

April 3, 1783, Mr. Newman sold one-fourth of the works to Timothy Stiles, who lived near the Joe Foster place; and July 8, 1783, Mr. Bodwell sold the remaining one-fourth to Samuel Kimball for £60. Mr. Stiles probably afterward sold his interest to the Kimballs.

"The Gazetteer of the American Continent," published in 1797, mentions the extensive business carried on at this bloomery. The large hinges upon which swung the great door of the barn of the late venerable Daniel Wood of West Boxford, were made here from the ore.

About 1804, the Kimballs sold to Justus Coburn, who built and carried on a fulling mill in the place of the iron works. Owing notes as follows,—to Ebenezer Peabody, \$300; Phineas Foster, \$100; David Cummings, \$400; Andrew Peabody, \$200; David Kimball, \$100; and Moses Hale, \$184—Mr. Coburn mortgaged the mill and house, etc., to the two latter creditors, David Kimball of Boxford and Moses Hale of Chelmsford, Oct. 1, 1805, to secure the payment of the said notes. The mortgage was assigned to Enoch Foster of Boxford, in July, 1807, and for \$1300, April 28, 1809, he sold the mill, dwelling house, barn, etc. (probably having foreclosed the mortgage) to Capt. Solomon Towne. Mr. Coburn probably built the house when he settled here. Only one acre of land went with the mill.

Captain Towne was an uncle of Mr. Henry A. Towne, and had been a sea-captain. He turned the fulling into a grist mill, and employed his brothers Asa and John as millers. About 1820, two brothers by the name of Redington introduced the business of turning wooden trays,

bowls, hubs, etc., into another part of the mill building. They carried on the business for some years.

In 1829, Captain Towne and others who were interested in a mortgage upon it, conveyed the mill to Henry Gray, a merchant of Roxbury. The mortgage, of \$1000, was held by the trustees of Phillips' Academy, Andover. The place then passed into the hands of Charles McIntier, a broker of Boston, who sold it, in 1831, to George Blackburn, a Boston merchant.

Mr. Blackburn let out the factory to various parties. Some of these were Hiram Atherton, from Newburyport, Peres Foster, from Norton, and John Bentley, from Yorkshire, England. These men manufactured cotton batting, wicking, wick yarn, twine, etc. Straw hats, which brought a large price, were also made here. Mr. Bentley hired a score or more of workmen.

Mr. Blackburn owned the factory thirty-five years. In 1866, he sold the whole property to Byam, Carlton & Co., match manufacturers, of Boston. Since September of the following year, matches have continued to be manufactured here.

LIMESTONE QUARRY.

A hundred years ago might have been seen near the site of the ice houses at Stevens' pond a lime kiln. This had been built many years before by Aaron Wood, the old senator, who lived on the opposite corner of the roads. An indentation in the ground near the willow tree on the hill a few rods south of the pond was once supposed to be the site of the kiln; but the writer has since discovered that the hollow place is a part of an old cellar over which stood in 1770, a house owned and occupied by Hannah Wood, and which a few years later was the home of a Hessian family. The kiln, we have since learned, was situated near the edge of the pond.

The quarry from which the lime was taken is situated about one-third of a mile east of the pond on the northwest side of the road leading to South Georgetown, near the old Killam cellar. The excavation is quite large, and many tons of limestone were taken from it and burned in the kiln. Since 'Squire Wood's death, in 1791, the quarry has probably not been worked.

An anecdote has come down to us from ante-revolutionary times, as follows. A great quantity of lime had been burned and was waiting to be sold and carried away. Some boys, thinking only of the fun, dumped the whole of it down the steep hill into the pond at its foot. In a moment that section of the pond was a boiling cauldron.

Dea. Josiah Kimball, who afterward lived on the Stevens' place and owned the quarry, is said to have found gold in the limestone, and to have carried the precious metal to a jeweller in Boston, who made it into a piece of jewelry. It might have been gold, but we doubt it.

STONE QUARRIES.

Two stone quarries might be noticed. One of these is situated west of Herrick's mill pond in the East Parish, from which came the rock for the first story of Mr. John Hale's hotel. The other is in Nason's grove on the southern shore of Mitchell's pond in the West Parish. The residence of Mr. James H. Nason was built by Benjamin Robinson, in 1845, of rock excavated at the latter place.

MINERAL PAINT.

There is so much iron in Boxford that paint mines are not uncommon. There are the yellow, brown and red colors, and several shades of each, some of them being quite bright. There is also some very fine white clay.

MARL DEPOSITS.

It may, or may not, be proper to speak of the "marl" beds that are found at the site of the Kimball peg-factory, as they consist of the crystallized remains of a family of silicious animalcules, generally known as diatoms, of which scientists are just beginning to learn something.

In 1881, Mr. Henry M. Cross of Newburyport, started the business here of manufacturing this marl, by burning and grinding, into a polish for silver ware, and a material for crucibles and furnaces, it being capable of resisting a great degree of heat, surpassing in this respect much of the marl of England.

PEAT DEPOSITS.

In the extensive tracts of peat lands, is the first formation of coal beds, which will probably at some time yield a good supply of this fuel. Much of the peat when cured is very hard and burns like coal, giving forth similar gases and burning as slowly.

MINING FEVER OF 1875-6.

The Newbury mining fever struck Boxford in the summer of 1875. Mr. Nathan K. Fowler sunk a shaft in the West Parish near his residence to the depth of some thirty-five feet, it being some ten feet square. He also tunnelled from the road, to a distance of some fifty feet passing by the shaft about half way down. He spent considerable money here, and was rewarded with some *fine* specimens of galena and antimony. His operations covered some six months of time.

The next and last attempt at mining for metals was made by the late D. Frank Harriman of West Boxford. In September, 1875, the writer's brother and himself discovered

a good specimen of lead in a quartz vein in the pasture situated in the East Parish, belonging to Misses Sarah P. and Lucy A. Perley. Mr. Harriman bonded this pasture of the owners, and began blasting. He secured the services of an interested foreigner, a Swede, John Blomgren by name, whose knowledge about minerals, we are sure, was not equal to his knowledge of men. The shining yellow pyrites were gold to him, and mica oftentimes silver. Some specimens of galena and indications of silver were brought to the surface and duly rejoiced over. Mr. Harriman erected a small building for his workmen to live in, and another over the shaft. In December, he had gone down some twenty feet. The vein, which was about one-third of an inch in thickness at the surface, now measured about three inches, and was indicative of good mineral farther down. The water now came in constantly, and as it was not easy to pump it out by hand, nor to raise the *débris* from the blasts, an engine for hoisting and pumping was introduced, and the shaft sunk deeper daily. As the winter drew to a close, they had gone down forty-five feet, through the hard rock all the way. At the bottom, the shaft was enlarged into a room about twenty feet square. The vein ran about northeast and southwest, and the shaft was begun on the northwest of the vein, but in going down the vein had been crossed (on account of its slant), and at the bottom of the shaft it was on the northwest side.

In the early spring, Professor Blomgren, having sold his interest in the business to Mr. Harriman for a sum of money, was now gone, and another professor, a lame man, who knew all about the smelting of silver ore, had taken his place. He induced Mr. Harriman to build a furnace near his residence. It contained twelve compartments or single furnaces. Another engine was purchased, and used in this business in propelling the fan-blower. The smelt-

ing works continued in operation long enough to run out one or two "silver bricks." Since then the building has been utilized as a blacksmith's shop by Mr. J. Horace Nason. Mr. Harriman was only one of many who lost money by the mining fever of '75 and '6; but he proved that there were valuable ores here. The quantity is so limited, and the depth at which it perhaps exists in paying quantities so great that it is probable mining will never be successfully carried on here.

A STRANGE EPISTLE OF A CENTURY AGO.

Cayenne, April 23, 1789.

Honour'd Parent: I take this Opportunity to write Unto you to let you know of a very bad accident that Happen'd on our late passage from Cape Mount, On the Coast of Africa, bound to Cayenne. we sail'd From Cape Mount the 13th of March with 35 Slaves On bord, the 26th day of March the Slaves Rised upon us, At half past seven, my Sir and all hands being Forehead Except the Man at helm and my self, three of the Slaves took Possession of the Caben, and two upon the quarter Deck, them in the Caben took Possession of the fier Arms, and them on the quarter Deck with the Ax and Cutlash and other Weapons, them in the Caben, handed up Pistels to them on the quarter Deck. One of them fired and killed my honoured Sir, and still we strove for to subdue them, and then We got on the quarter Deck and killed two of them. One that was in the Caben was Comeing out at the Caben Windows in order to get on Deck, & we Discovered him & Knock'd him overbord, two being in the Cabin we confined the Caben Doors, so that they should not kill us, then three

men went forhead and got the three that was down their and brought them aft And their being a Doctor on bord Passenger that Could speak the tongue he sent one of the boys down & Brought up some of the fier arms and Powder And then we Cal'd them up and one Came up, and he Cal'd the other and he Came up. We put them In Irons and Chained them and then the Doctor Dres^d the Peoples Wounds they being Slightly Wounded. Then it was one o'clock they buried my honoured Parent, he was buried as decent as he could be at Sea the 16 of this month I scalt myself with hot Chocolate but now I am abel to walk about again. So I remain in good health and hope to find you the same and all my Sisters & Brothers and all that Inquires after me. We have sold part of the Slaves and I hope to be home soon

So I Remain your Most Dutiful Son

Will^m Fairfield

This letter is addressed to

Mrs Rebecca Fairfield

Salem.

New England.

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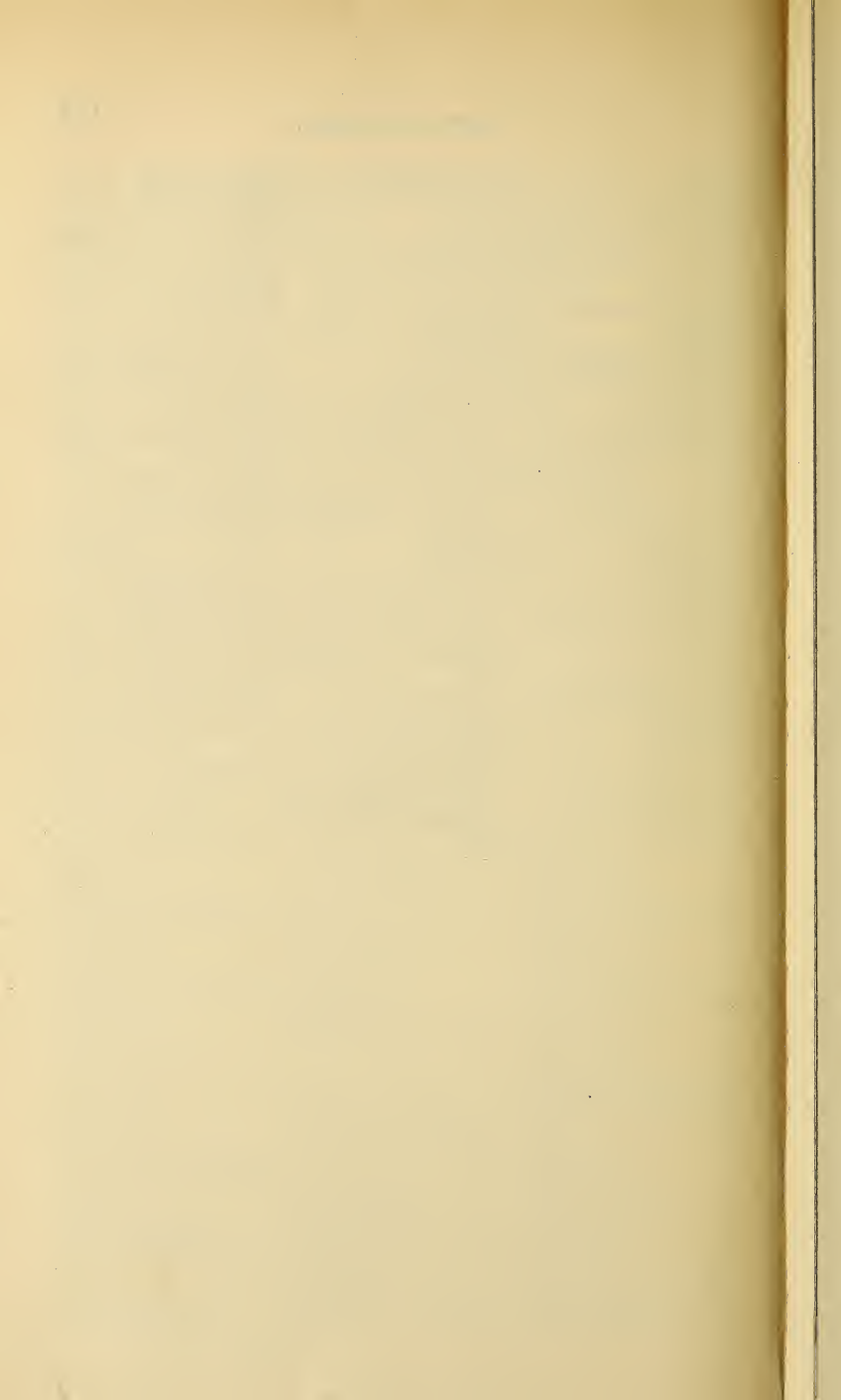
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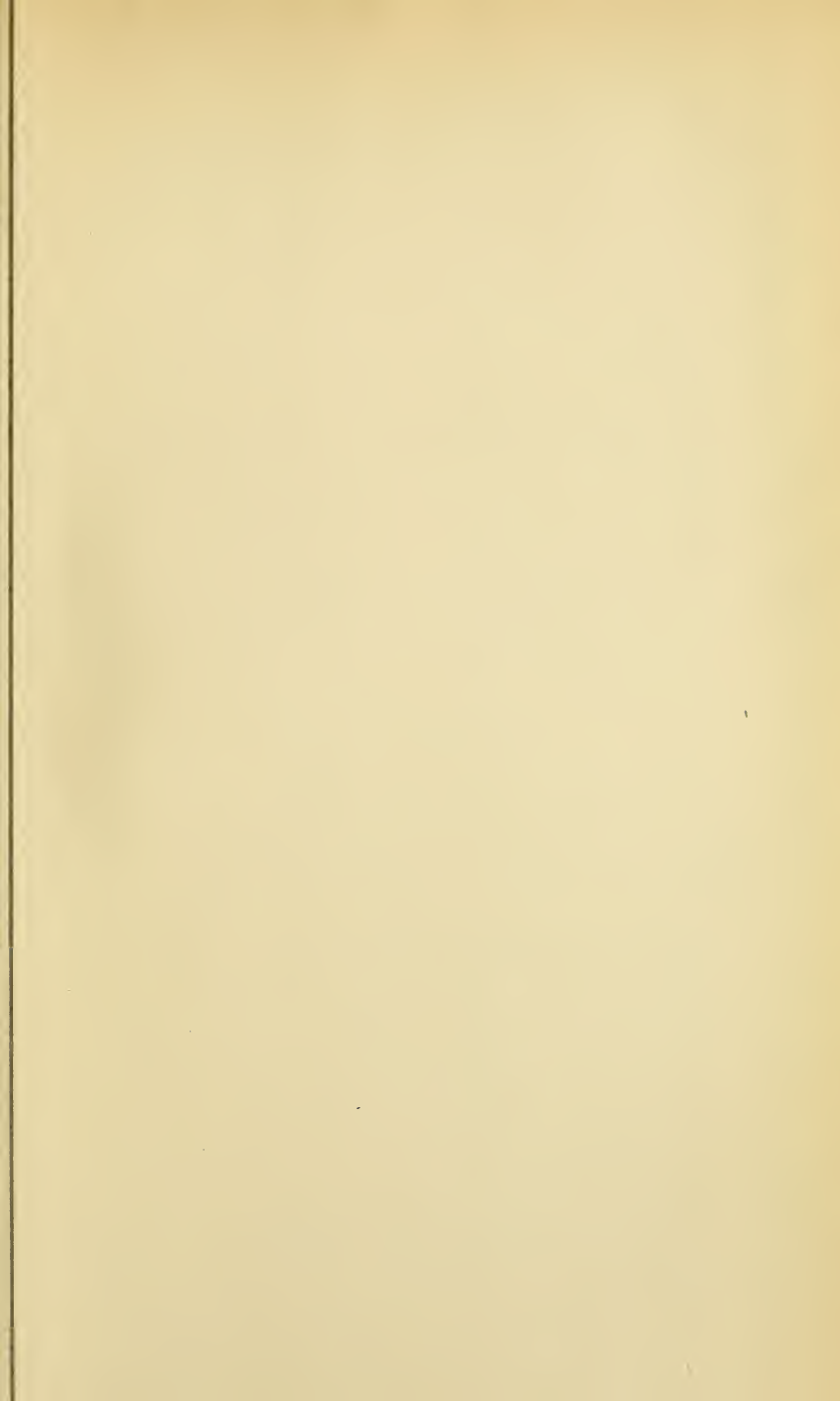
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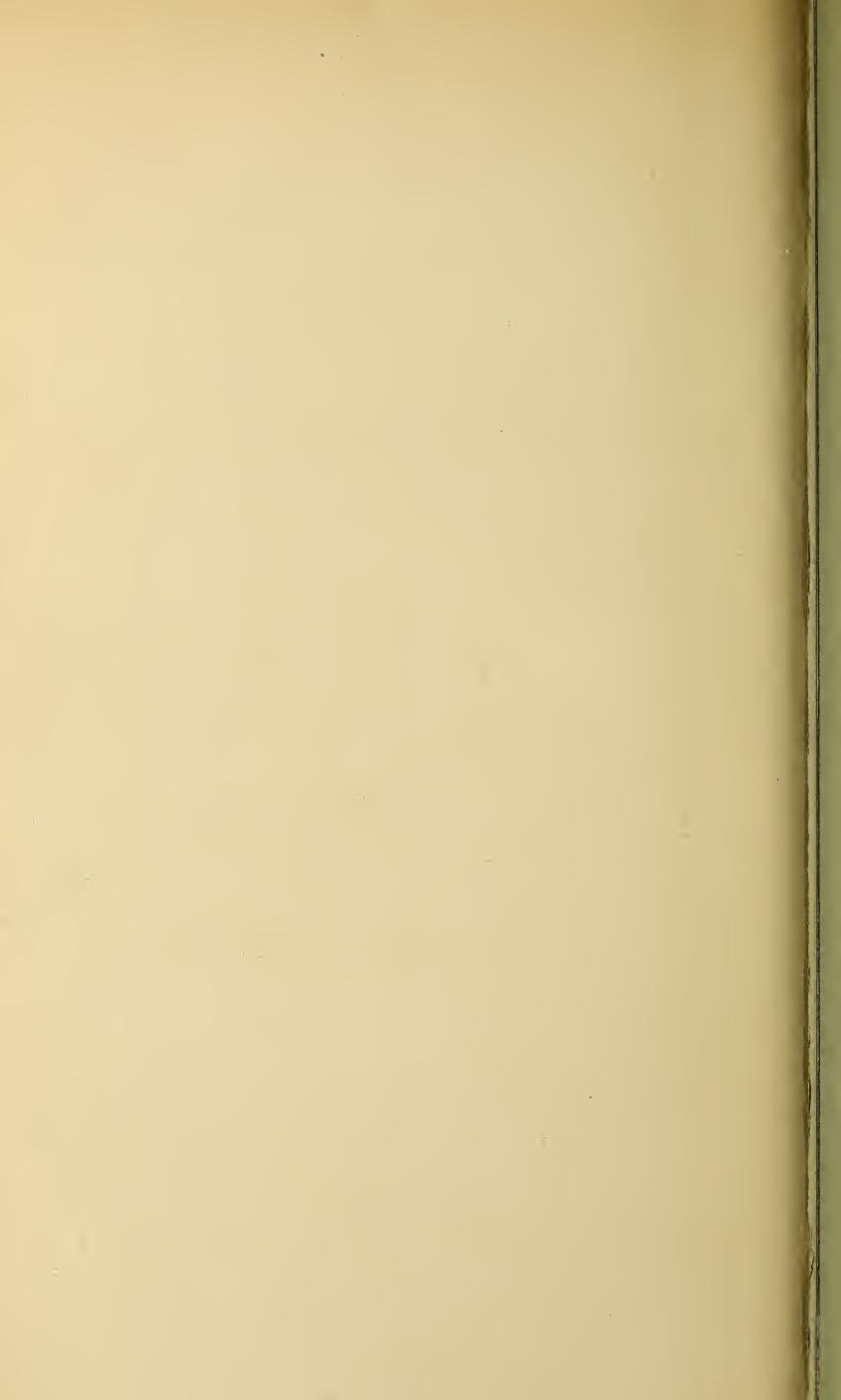
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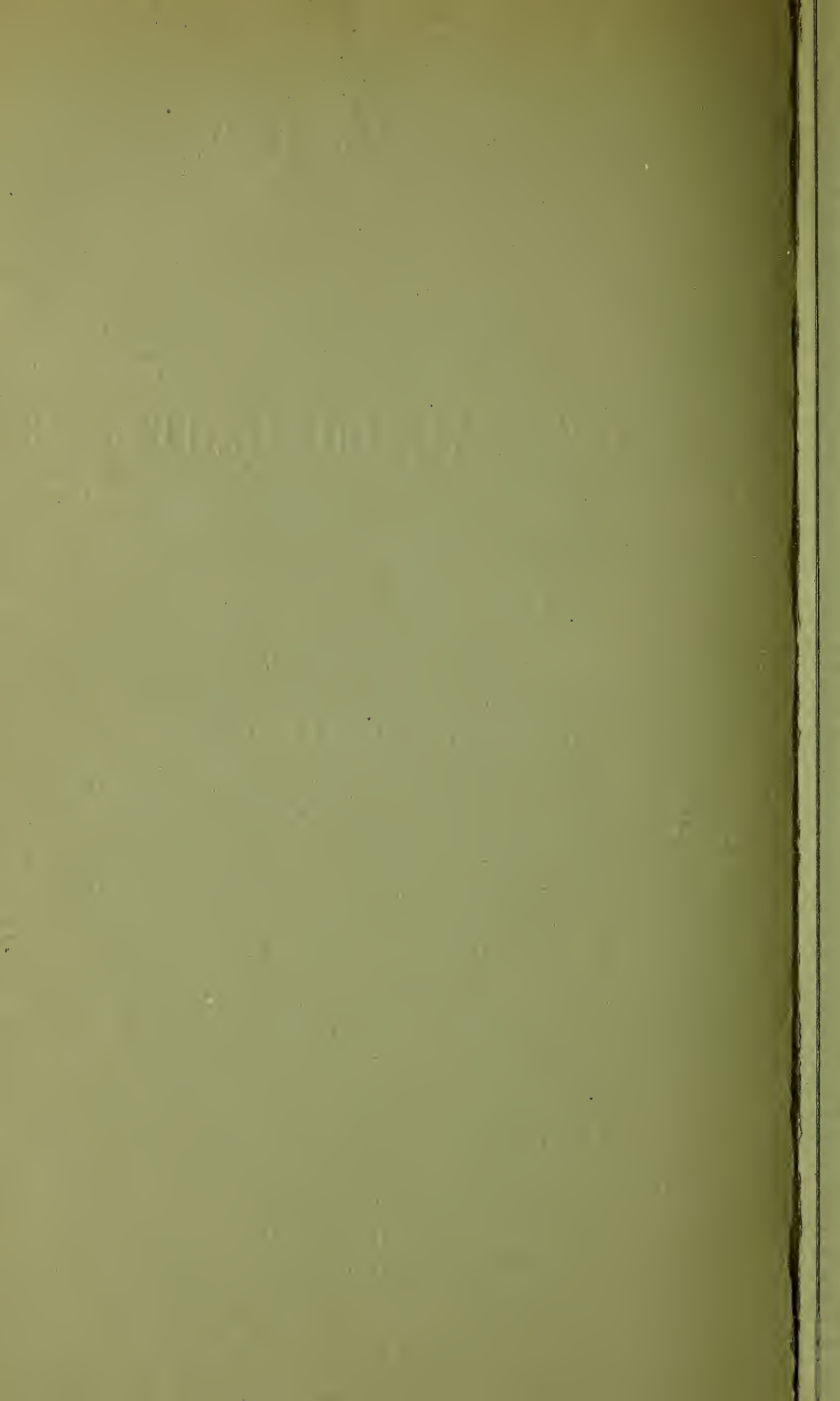
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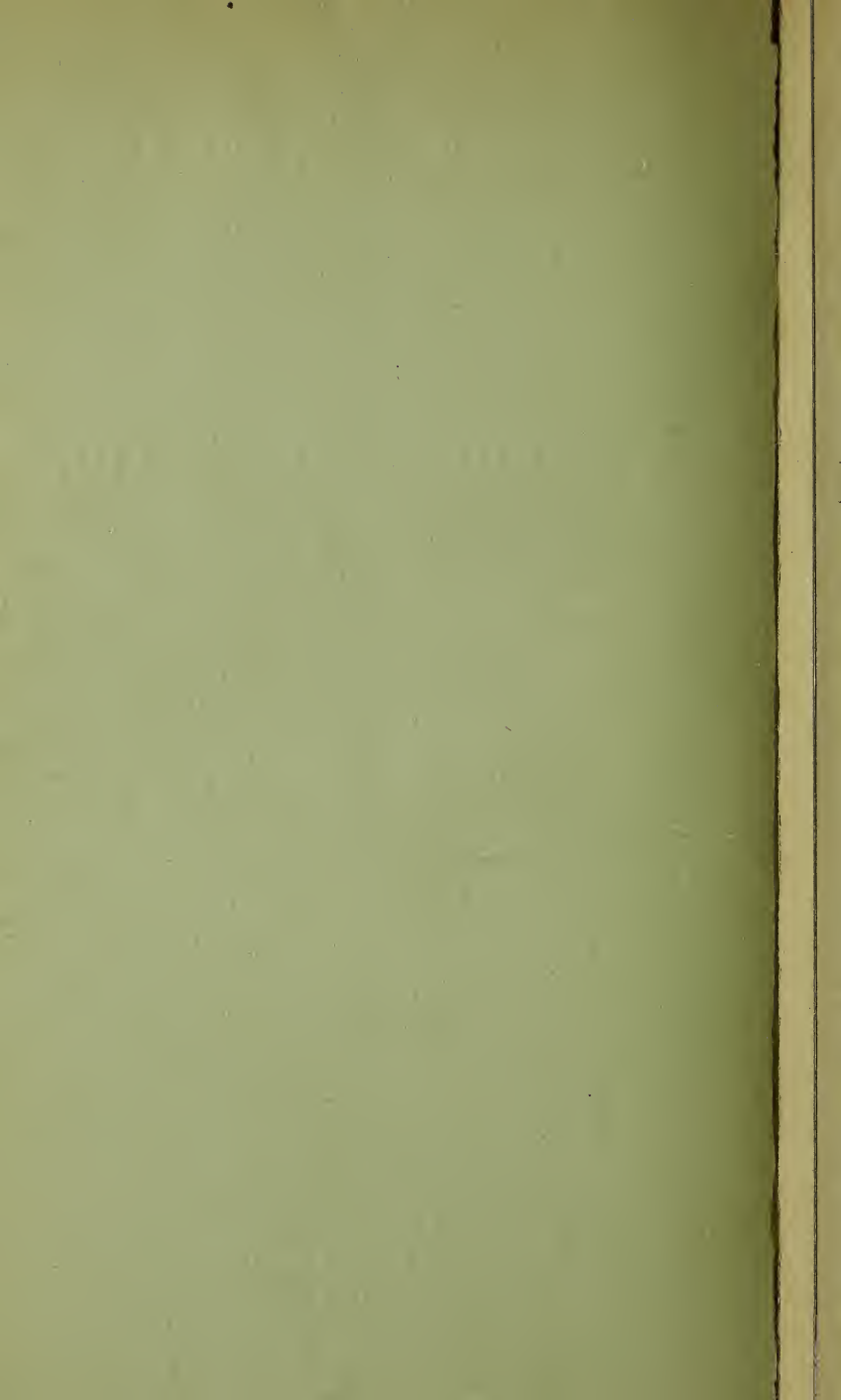
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